Land Access and Participatory Territorial Development

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Territory and rural development: concepts, methods and approaches
(literature review)

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Summary

This document was developed as a working paper in a research project examining the interrelationships between policies and programmes for land access and emerging territorial approaches to rural development in land unequal countries. It explores the idea of territorial development in relation to other decentralised and local development approaches established din the latter part of t 20th Century. The paper examines the ideas of territory itself and of territorial development as an emerging approach and charts the evolution of territorial approaches within changing perspectives on rural development and poverty reduction. These include centralised and donor driven Integrated Rural Development Programmes (IRDPs) of the 1970s and early 80s; the Sustainable Livelihoods (SL) approach developed in the 1990s, as well as the relevance to territorial perspectives of practical experiences in Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM), and, in the francophone tradition, of *Gestion de Terroir*. It goes on to consider briefly the importance of urban-rural linkages and change in development policy, and the development of Local Economic Development (LED) approaches which have primarily addressed the urban sector. The analysis compares and contrasts the generic features of a Rural Territorial Development (RTD) approach with earlier IRDP and SL approaches on the one hand, and with LED on the other. In section 4, the foregoing discussion of territorial approaches is illustrated by the European Union's LEADER programme's approach to strengthening territorial competitiveness in marginalised rural regions of Europe, and by a summary of FAO's methodology of Participatory and Negotiated Territorial Development methodology. Section 5 discusses the conceptual development of territorial approaches and their uptake by development programmes in Latin America, focussing on Brazil, and reflecting on the significance of rural territorial perspectives in relation to issues of land access and agrarian reform. By way of conclusion the paper discusses the scope and opportunities for territorial approaches to stimulate developmental responses to regional inequalities and the differential spatial impacts that globalisation has on rural areas and rural poverty.

Territory and rural development: concepts, methods and approaches

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1. The idea of territory

Territory has been defined in different ways by different writers and disciplines. Principle notions of territory include:

- Spatial / political definitions: territory as bounded space / space of institutionalised power
- Geographic and anthropological definitions: Territory as space of cultural and social identity and groupings / individual and group identifications with spatial units of political / administrative control. The operative feature here is that of social assimilation and implicit understanding of concepts of territory.
- Economic definitions: production plus markets within a particular area

FAO (2003) state that "territory may be viewed in legal, social and cultural contexts as the area where an individual or community lives." In addition "it is generally contended that human beings are territorial, and that territoriality is therefore an innate characteristic of individual and social organisation. Alluding to the significance of territory for land rights and land policy, FAO's explanation continues: "in practical terms territoriality is expressed in the different forms of property ownership enjoyed by individuals and groups, and by the different ways in which the use of real estate is regulated at different levels of social and political organisation." Moreover, according to FAO, territory exists at various levels, that of the state, through intermediate levels of local government, and at the lowest level individuals (and implicitly social groups at different levels).

In considering notions of territory, questions of boundaries and of scale are ever-present. Territory may be defined as small or large, at micro, meso or macro levels, and territories may overlap depending on the subject, the nature of the group, agency or political authority which defines it. The idea of territory is applicable to development and the role of institutions in development processes at different scales: local – regional –national- supra-national or even global. The francophone literature distinguishes between the ideas of *terroir* – the assemblage of land and natural resources considered as pertaining to a specific village or local community and *territoire* – the territory of a broader social group or organisation, more akin to the anglophone "territory" and still applicable at different scales.

IIED (2000) explain that the term Territory or *territoire* in French can be used in four ways: "to define an extensive area where a human community live"; "a rural area over which an

authority is exercised"; or, in human and behavioural science, as "the space within which individuals or groups carry out their activities" and which is, in general, defended against other individuals of the same species." Finally, in livestock systems, territory can be defined as "a structured environment which holds contrasting resources and constraints in space and time….of value to the herding group".

What most definitions of territory have in common is an aspect of subjectivity – territory is not simply geographical space and physical resources, but space and resources on which some social group depend and exercise some form of control or authority. Implicit in this is the idea of social identification with geographical space and the social construction of territory, which may in turn involve the concrete development of political authority, economic relations and cultural symbolism and modes of communication.

In Latin America social, cultural and economic conceptions of territory generally do not coincide with municipal boundaries, but rather with the territories of particular e.g. indigenous groups, or as a function of the processes of land occupation and economic development, wider regions with common environmental features, markets and production systems, means of communication, and a sense of cultural belonging shared by a variety of actors.

At the November 2003 Fortaleza conference on "Territory, Rural Development and Democracy" key aspects of territory that were noted were
➢ The predominance and broad acceptance of geographical definitions – territory as the culturally identified space of social groupings
➢ Territory can be used to describe and analyse social, institutional and spatial relations between autonomous actors / agents / groups within a common arena
➢ Territories can be viewed as "Markets with a sense of social identity" (Carlos Jara, Ecuador)
➢ The idea of territory is relevant to construction and development of citizenship and democracy
➢ A general consensus that the idea of territorial development is primarily applicable at the supra-local, supra municipal, meso- or district level.

2. Rethinking approaches to rural development and poverty reduction

For much of the latter part of the 20th century, rural and urban development have been conducted in separate spheres by both donor agencies and developing countries, albeit with common, inter linked objectives of achieving economic prosperity and reducing poverty. In rural development, approaches have evolved and fashions have changed over time.

2. 1 Integrated Rural Development

In the 1960s and 1970s an area focussed and multi-sectoral but heavily donor driven approach, Integrated Rural Development Programmes (IRDPs) predominated. These sought to promote comprehensive rural development across a number of key sectors in defined geographical regions or areas, usually corresponding with administrative districts or groups of municipalities. While primarily focussed on agricultural production IRDPs also made considerable complementary investments in for example, infrastructure, education, health care, sanitation and water supply but generally with scant attention to social participation or

to institutional and financial sustainability, relying on substantial inputs of external institutions and donor constructed mechanisms for management and implementation.

As a result of rising costs and limited benefits, the IRDP approach gave way, during the 1980s, to more specific and sectorally focused donor project interventions often directed to increasing productivity, incomes or food security of targeted beneficiaries within agricultural or other natural resource related production systems. As time went on, these developed a growing emphasis on project delivery and achieving sustainability by strengthening sectoral government institutions, and increasing emphasis on beneficiary consultation and participation.

2. 2 Sustainable Livelihoods Approaches

The spread of participatory rural appraisal (PRA) methods and participatory approaches in general led to a fuller understanding of the complexity and context specificity of rural people's survival, food security and livelihood strategies. Together with a growing, global emphasis on environmental sustainability, these developments in thinking and practice led to the emergence in the late 1980s and early 1990s of the sustainable livelihoods (SL) approach amongst rural development practitioners, drawing together new ways of understanding and addressing poverty issues (see Box 1 below). This focused initially on achieving sustainable rural livelihoods (SRLs) as a strategy for poverty reduction without degradation of supporting natural resource systems. The SL approach was adopted, further developed, disseminated briefly (in historical terms) institutionalised and widely disseminated by DFID in the late 1990s, leading to its widespread uptake by NGOs, development agencies and governments, helping to   'anchor development thinking and practice in the day-to-day reality and aspirations of poor people' (Carney, 2002).

The SL approach 'is a way of thinking about the objectives, scope and priorities for poverty eradication and development' (DFID briefing, 1999). As such it has a wide variety of applications – as an analytical tool, a set of principles or even normative objectives to guide and orient development interventions, an operational framework for programme and project planning. As an analytical tool and way of thinking SL has informed territorial approaches in theory and practice, and territorial development draws implicitly upon many of the insights and principles that were also drawn together by the SL approach.

The widely disseminated "Sustainable Livelihoods framework" - often represented diagrammatically – is a means for planning and assessing development activities. The framework employs a variety of existing tools, drawn primarily from social and stakeholder analysis and participatory research and appraisal methods) and encourages holistic analysis of existing livelihood patterns, focussing on people's differential access to assets (conceived of as natural, physical, financial, social and human capital), the "vulnerability context" of external trends and shocks impacting on specific social groups (e.g. seasonality, adverse climatic conditions, conflicts, or sharply altered terms of trade) their livelihoods strategies, drawing on the range of assets and resources available, and the outcomes as mediated by wider policies institutions and processes which shape the opportunities and constraints facing individuals, households and groups in pursuit of their goals (see Carney, 1999 and 2002).

> **Box 1. Origins of the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach**
>
> SL emerged from changes in thinking on poverty:
>
> - The need for sustainability, not only in the management of natural resources and environment, but ultimately in the livelihood strategies employed by poor people, and e economic opportunities available to them, which are not wholly dependent on natural resources The causes and characteristics of poverty are multi-dimensional, not only income determined and access to social capital influences well-being
> - Recognition that isolated sectoral initiatives of limited value while complex cross-sectoral programmes become unmanageable
> - Participatory approaches highlight the diversity of goals to which people aspire and the complexity of many livelihood strategies
> - The importance of the policy and institutional processes and the governance framework in influencing livelihoods options and strategies – consequently the need for a good understanding of household economy in the wider and the policy context
> - The importance of linking community level institutions/processes at the micro level with the macro level policy, institutional and economic environment
> - Concern about the effectiveness of development interventions (moving from a focus on resources, facilities and structures of service provision towards people themselves). The need for benchmarks for success framed in terms of improvements in the livelihoods of poor people.
>
> (sources: adapted from DFID 1999 and Carney 1999)

Moving on from the initial focus of SLs as an analytical framework to inform rural development interventions, practitioners came to emphasise the key principles of the livelihoods approach, which can be summarised as:

- Holistic and people centred
- Responsive and participatory
- Multi-level, linking micro and macro
- Conducted in partnership
- Focussed on sustainability of livelihood strategies and outcomes, and influenced by the economic, social, environmental and institutional sustainability of interventions
- Dynamic – recognising the changing nature of livelihood strategies, outcomes and contexts over time

(Cleary 2003, Ashley and Hussein 2000)

The SL approach has had a wider range of applications by development agencies and has substantially altered the nature of programme and project interventions by recasting earlier sectoral approaches by strengthening people-centredness and participation, using livelihoods analysis to identify entry points, leading to strategic and synergistic interventions at different levels (as opposed to earlier costly multi-sectoral interventions in the style of top-down and IRD programmes), and focussing on improvements in livelihood outcomes in monitoring and evaluation. The approach has also generated a wide range of critical literature, in the light of experience, to broad for us to review here.

Drawing on this experience however, some of limitations identified with the SL approach are pertinent in considering the potential of emerging territorial perspectives to address them and complement the ongoing evolution of livelihoods thinking (see Box 2 below).

Box 2. Some limitations of the sustainable livelihoods approach

- The need for greater attention to issues of *political capital, power relations, and rights* which are causes, aspects and effects of poverty, and the complementarity of SL and rights-based approaches: SL puts people first but does not sufficiently highlight the need to increase the power and rights of the poor and to stimulate changes in social relations. The predominance of a 'provider perspective' – currently focuses on helping the state, NGOs and private sector to be more responsive to poor people, but greater emphasis on the empowerment of users (and user groups) to do things themselves is needed requiring consideration is needed of how rights are negotiated and the channels, or 'political space' between citizens and institutions where rights can be contested.
- The importance of including *informal structures* and social networks including intra and inter-household and gender relations, and avoiding exclusive focus on governmental institutions in institutional analysis
- This in turn requires greater attention on the relationship between poor people and their *governance environment* and a better understanding of *broader institutional issues.*
- The role of *markets* in livelihoods work has frequently been weak, although there is now increasing recognition of central role of markets, the private sector and economic contexts of livelihoods, and growing emphasis on dynamic processes of livelihood change and wider processes of economic growth. Related to this, as an explicitly pro-poor approach, SL, perspectives often neglect the role of the non-poor as more powerful economic actors, and their relationships with the poor, in enabling or disabling the livelihoods strategies and opportunities of the poor.
- work on *environmental sustainability* and livelihoods, has, in practice, been fairly limited, despite the origin of the SL approach within concerns to balance sustainable management of natural resources with people's livelihood needs .
- Importance of using SL not to take over the policy arena, but to promote understandings of micro-macro links especially with regard to the *potential.*
- The need for increasing attention to the *meso level* in mediating the linkages between micro and macro and the impacts of macro-economic policies (e.g. as highlighted in the work of Khanya in South Africa).

(points adapted and developed from Carney 2000)

Except in cases where the SL approach has been integrated into regional or area based projects, livelihoods analysis has generally neglected analysis of the spatial dimensions of poor people's livelihoods, and their relationships with institutions, markets, the natural environment, and indeed with other social actors and political power networks in particular places. Moreover the environments, markets, institutions, and political arenas in which people's livelihoods strategies operate, and which constrain their opportunities generally find some concrete expression at the meso- level – neither very local (micro) nor national, regional or global (macro) in character. The growing recognition of and the complexity of livelihood strategies and the importance of urban rural linkages for the poor also focuses attention away from very local, rural settings and toward a more complex spatial mosaic at the meso-scale incorporating small and medium sized towns and flows of people and goods to and from the urban centres. Also at the meso-scale, the visibility and impact of non-poor economic and social agents, of distributional issues, of power relations between groups and of the scope for formation of progressive alliances and networks all become more apparent

These considerations suggest that the identification of broad spatial units of analysis and of operational planning within which SL principles of people centred, participatory planning and promotion of partnerships can be applied may well help to enhance the impact of SL approaches in practice. In many ways, this is precisely which territorial development perspectives are seeking to do.

Sustainable Livelihood Approaches contrast with the earlier dominant paradigm of Integrated Rural Development in many respects. SL has tended to focus on people whereas IRD has tended to be area-focussed. Although Rural Territorial Development potentially responds to some of the limitations of SL approaches, by adopting a more spatial focus on particular territories (albeit not precisely bounded, with dynamic links with other territories and in some respects comprising overlapping territories at different scales) and by stressing the importance of cross-sectoral coordination and development of new institutional arrangements to sustain a territorial approach, RTD may seem to be reverting to earlier IRD approaches. In practice RTD has features in common with both SL and IRD, but unlike IRD and in common with SL, it seeks to encourage the bottom-up element of development planning and practice, greater participation and the fostering of partnerships rooted in civil society and enhancing levels of social capital.

Table 1 seeks to characterise and contrast some of the key elements of the three approaches.

Table 1. Comparing different approaches to rural development

Criterion for comparison	Integrated Rural Development Projects	Sustainable livelihoods Approaches	Emergent features of Rural Territorial Development Approaches
Focus	Rural regions, districts or defined geographical areas or places. Multisectoral and production oriented	People and their existing strengths, located within Rural areas as part of larger systems, often focussing on particular groups or micro-regions	Combination of people and places. Opportunities to concretise livelihoods approaches in specific meso-level geographical areas defined as territories: - with shared territorial identity amongst different stakeholders as a key ingredient. Some focus on outcomes of interplay between processes of globalisation and decentralisation at territorial level.
Origins and cultural context	Late 1960s and 1970s emphasis in international development policy on rural development and smallholder agriculture, backed by infrastructural / service support, combined with centralised, state / expert –led planning	UK and Anglophone countries in 1990s, changing perspectives on poverty, natural resources and food security. Actively promoted by DFID in late 1990s early 2000s and widely adopted by NGOs and development agencies	Endogenous analytical civil society and government initiatives primarily in Latin America, also in Europe from late 1990s in response to changing impacts of development policies and globalisation on rural space and people. Partially adopted by regional and international agencies and European Union. As yet without clear institutional identify or orthodox interpretation.
Conceptions of poverty	Multi-dimensional, necessitating support in different sectors production, health, education etc) but reality of the poor often simplified suggesting uniformity	Multi-dimensional, complex, local. Embraces the concepts of risk and variability. Various insights (e.g. broad interpretation of rural, diversity of livelihood activities undertaken, linkages between rural-urban areas).	No explicit poverty analysis but consistent with SL approach. Rural poverty considered broadly, to include non-farm and urban-rural aspects. Focus on empowerment of poor through building social and human capital and facilitating access to assets, markets, institutions and political space.
Size and scale of intervention	Large, and often complex. Area or region wide (sometimes with preceding pilot)	Starting small with diagnosis at the micro level and limited areas of activity, growing into a potentially diverse range of interventions at different scales	Influencing policy programme implementation and stimulating institutional realignment at the *meso or supra-local* level, to achieve more responsive planning, often with no or little dedicated budget. Scale and type of specific projects may vary, but all projects should have replicability or policy / institutional impact at territorial level.
Participation	Minimal, if any. Top-down	Participation prioritised as key principle. Bottom – up	Seeks to mainstream participation in public policy and planning, promote voice of disempowered, and provide space for stakeholder negotiation and dialogue. Top-down meets bottom-up.
Co-ordination	Integrated execution through institutionalising project units in	Driven by shared objectives and needs identified by those involved.	State as enabler and public-private-civil- society partnerships important, building on existing

(coordination continued)	national or local government. Tends to be donor driven and reliant on donor funds	May not be institutionalised in government or civil society and dependent on donor project support.	institutions and networks, within which coordination units are located, and to convene wider fora. To succeed, requires a state-led enabling framework.
Problem analysis	Undertaken by planning unit in short period of time, viewed as conclusive	Inclusive process, iterative and incomplete, based on holistic livelihood assessment. Generally reliant on external expertise working with local people and institutions	Consistent with SL, but relates to specific territories with explicit focus on market, cultural, institutional and political dimensions. State as enabler drawing on expertise in local civil society, public and private sector and external partners to facilitate participatory planning.
Sectoral scope	Multi-sectoral, single plan, sector involvement established at outset	Small number of entry points, multi-sectoral, many plans, sectoral involvement evolves with the project	Entry points relate to specific territory and interventions intended to be inter-related in order to provide synergies. Iterative incremental planning which may start form limited alliance of sectoral players and social actors, but seeks to stimulate boarder collaboration and cross sectoral coordination. Typical key interventions in priority infrastructure, education and capacity building and access to markets
Level of operation	Local, area based in defined administrative regions or districts	Both policy and local level with clear links between the two	Area based in terms of territory at meso scale (not necessarily following existing administrative boundaries). Local interventions framed in terms of policy / institutional impacts
Sustainability	Not explicitly considered. Weak institutional and financial sustainability Environment treated as add-on (if at all)	As an approach SL promotes sustainability as a key aspect of livelihoods, (also at political/fiscal levels). Environmental sustainability part of origins, but opportunity to mainstream environment in livelihood development not fully taken up. SL initiatives likely to require a state-instituted enabling framework for long term sustainability and replication	Stresses different aspects of sustainability are key: strengthening social capital and networks; Developing production by linking with dynamic markets fosters territorial competitiveness and economic sustainability; Environmental sustainability through valuing and developing local landscape and traditional natural resources utilisation. Reforming institutional arrangements for directing investments likely to be essential to sustaining the approach.
Supporting research	Adaptive, technical, socio-economic	Livelihood strategy-based. Action research to support ongoing projects	Action research focused at territorial level, including urban-rural links, power relations, cultural perspectives, impacts of dynamic markets, global macro and macro processes, social capital, networks and movements.

Adapted and developed from Carney 1999 and Cleary / FAO 2003

2. 3 Locally based approaches to natural resource management

In addition to the broad evolution of theory and practice in rural development the development of practical approaches to natural resource management at local level, Community based natural resource management (CBNRM) in Anglophone Africa and *Gestion de Terroir* in Francophone West Africa has also been significant for the development of a more spatially oriented, territorial perspective on development. In each of these practical traditions, questions of land and natural resource rights, and social identification with and ownership of a wider landscape have been key elements

2.3.1. Community Based Natural Resource Management
Interest in the potential of Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) schemes arose from the need for the state to develop partnerships with local communities in conservation and natural resource management, together with the recognition of the livelihood importance of common property resources. Restricting community access to wild resources and state reservation of land for conservation or productive purposes (national parks, wildlife and forest reserves) has led to frequent problems of resource conflict, poaching and illegal harvesting and most sectoral natural resource management authorities in developing countries now recognise the need for a more participative approach. CBNRM is premised on the desires for equity of access and sustainable resource use, coupled with confidence in the CPR management capacity of local communities and the failures of top-down resource management.

Early experiments in CBNRM in southern and eastern Africa which concentrated on negotiating access and benefit sharing arrangements for wildlife, rangeland, tourism and forest resources over which the state retained ultimate jurisdiction, proved only partially successful. Murphree (1993) discussing Zimbabwe's pioneering "Campfire" programme identified the key problem with early experiments as the failure to devolve real property rights to the management group, who may in fact have legitimate customary claims to the resources in question. In practice user groups need relatively strong sanctioned use rights over natural resources which include the rights to decide whether or not to use the resource at all, to determine the mode and extent of their use, and to benefit fully from their exploitation in the way the proprietors choose. Key principles for effective community management include: the need for the benefits to the managers to exceed the costs, for an enabling policy and institutional environment in which group management can succeed.

Despite widespread CBNRM initiatives, in practice significant resources may remain under state or private control, and outside the reach of the user group restricting sovereignty, mobility and flexibility, and thus still leading to resource degradation. In addition, even where programmes have devolved to users strong group based property rights, a major problem with CBNRM (common to similar village-based *Gestion de Terroir* programmes in francophone West Africa) is the tendency to designate resource access and utilisation rights as <u>exclusive</u> to particular groups. In practice other groups may have legitimate established claims for instance to rangeland resources or fishing beaches and issues of inter-group negotiation for access rights and in application of boundary restrictions have come to the fore (Ellis and Allison 2004). In the land sector, efforts to formalise customary systems of land

administration, for instance in Ghana, have come up against a need for adjudication of intensely disputed chieftaincy boundaries as a fist priority. Similarly the problems of relatively exclusionary village based *Gestion de Terroir* schemes in West Africa are now being addressed by recently emerging C*onventions Locales*, which seek to create frameworks whereby multiple user groups can negotiate and manage natural resource access.

Ellis and Allison (2004) find CBNRM to have substantially failed owing to multiple sectoral incarnations, whereby government agencies responsible for different resources seek to develop separate management schemes, based on narrow beliefs that communities depend exclusively on particular resources and failures to address community needs holistically. In addition there has been a lack of attention to the real world dynamics of resource utilisation and false notions of communities as homogeneous groups with identical interests in the resources in questions.[1]

Problems identified with community and village based land titling in Mozambique include failures to devolve effective property rights over natural resources to local communities, and a lack of clarity and consistency in defining the institutional arrangements for the management and control of natural resource utilisation at local level, in spite of generally progressive land, forest and wildlife legislation. While the land law facilitates community land demarcation, it does not mandate it and capacity both in government and at community level to assume the responsibilities involved is weak, while financial resources are scarce. Outcomes of natural resource benefit sharing are highly subject to local politics, external interventions by NGOs or the private sector and vulnerable to elite capture, and parallel legislation has decreed that traditional leaders should have responsibility over natural resource management. Although forestry and wildlife legislation grants communities a stake in natural resources, this is primarily for subsistence purposes, and he state reserves the right to allocate concessions for commercial resource exploitation, from which the customary owners may derive very little benefit. Where high value tourism or safari hunting resources are at stake, and in conservation areas, this can involve the loss of important livelihood options. In addition land information systems are not sufficiently complete or operational to facilitate clear and transparent decision making for the allocation of land and natural resource concessions, and the process has not been integrated with decentralised district based or territorial planning (Norfolk 2004).

2.3.2 *Gestion de terroir*
Gestion de Terroir (GT) was prominent amongst a wave of initiatives in decentralised natural resource management in Francophone West Africa in the late 1980s and early 1990s. While often translated as "land management", the notion of *terroir*, in French, as noted above, is generally used to refer to the assemblage of land and natural resources considered as pertaining to a specific local community or village. The

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[1] Similar problems have been observed in collective land reform settlements in South Africa and Brazil, where solutions to the problems of equitable shares to produce and proceeds and clear procedures of entry and exit to the group have remained elusive. These difficulties might be avoided if government land reform programmes and civil society land reform movements adopted a more territorial perspective which recognised the importance of sustaining beneficiaries' diversified livelihood strategies, linked to wider dynamic markets, which in practice may be extended over quite wide areas, and involve elements of labour migration.

approach thus has a territorial dimension, although it focuses at a micro-level rather than tackling broader meso-scale development issues in the way that Latin American territorial approaches seek to do. GT programmes, arose from observed failings of intensification based agricultural and IRD projects in the Sahelian region to reduce poverty and reverse environmental degradation, stemming from lack of attention to rights, responsibilities and overall sustainability in the use and control of natural resources and over-centralised, sectoral and top-down nature of state planning. GT is predicated on the notions that although local people have good indigenous knowledge of natural resource management, different individuals and groups within the community have different interests and objectives, and that in practice, resources are not managed well. Existing programmes and centralised approaches had tended to exacerbate this situation by by-passing local participation in development planning seeking to implant ready made solutions. Consequently it was felt necessary to create new, representative institutions for purposes of community negotiation and resource management (Engberg-Petersen 1995), so as to transfer management of natural resources to the local level

In practice GT involves processes of participatory appraisal and diagnosis, priority setting, skills development, institution building and stakeholder negotiation at village / community level, facilitated by external programme technicians. Following the diagnostic phase, which has generally focused on resource degradation and management problems, socio – economic factors in livelihood strategies, and systems for allocation and enforcement of access and use rights, GT programmes have concentrated on the creation and development of village GT committees. These then assume responsibility for implementation of plans for natural resource management and technical resource conservation, in some cases transferring financial responsibility for the management and contracting of projects to the village committees (Cleary 2003).

Although the approach is in principle participatory, its promise attracted considerable interest from the World Bank and UNDP and from a number of Sahelian governments such as Burkina Faso, leading to a number of major national programmes aiming to introduce the GT approach to large numbers of communities. These blanket approaches to the creation of new local development institutions have however failed to consider questions of indigenous historical institutional diversity. As demonstrated by contrasting experiences in different provinces of Burkina Faso (Donnelly-Roarke et al 2001, Ouedraogo and Ouedraogo 1999), cited in Cleary et al 2003), where GT committees have failed to build on local culture, and instead competed with existing institutions and practices, they have failed to establish social accountability and proved unsustainable.

Drawing on FAO's recent review of GT approaches (Cleary 2004), and other assessments, the principal issues and problems which have emerged from GT programmes can be summarised:

- The substitution of new, externally imposed village councils for pre-existing indigenous institutions, rather than adaptation of them. The new structures these tend to have legitimacy only as vehicles for attracting external funds and to succeed the approach has depended on continued external support and intervention

- Tendencies to ignore complex social, economic, political and cultural realities of target groups, and the power relations amongst them, focussing instead on technical aspects of resource management
- Programmes have faced heavy start up costs, but delayed benefits. Moreover because of their predominant natural resources orientation, they have often not responded to communities' priority felt needs which may be in areas such as income generation, water supply, health care and basic infrastructure.
- There has been a lack of attention to sustaining financial provision for resourcing local resource management, and no or linkage to programmes for delivery of credit at village level. As a result GT programmes have been reliant on recurrent outside finance.
- GT programmes, like CBNRM have stopped short of granting clear property rights to land and natural resources on an individual or collective basis, or a clear legal personality to local management groups, which would be needed to provide real incentives for sustainable management by local communities and enable real transfers and devolution of power.
- The approach operates primarily at a very local or micro level, and does not provide a framework within which different village communities, social groups and stakeholders can negotiate sustainable and equitable resource management arrangements or resolve resource conflicts on a wider territorial scale. In particular GT tended to favour the interests of settled village communities over those of mobile pastoralists reliant on the resources of a variety of *terroirs*. In the more successful programmes, supra-village and inter –group structures and fora have emerged to enable negotiations between groups over the control of more extensive resources
- In general, a lack of linkages of local initiatives with wider institutional and policy issues, together with a failure to undertake meaningful longer range planning. In practice, the lessons of GT have not been factored into legislative and policy change to facilitate participatory resource management, or cross sectoral coordination of government programmes in responding to local priorities. There here has been no effective linkage with decentralisation programmes and local government has not intervened to support GT programmes and enable sustainable resource management and facilitate inter group negotiation and partnerships on a broader scale.

Box 3. Lessons of the Gestion de Terroir approach for Territorial Development

By focusing at the meso level, territorial development approaches implicitly address the limitation of GT in focussing on the micro *terroir* and the absence of strategies for tackling resource management, economic development and institution building on a broader scale. Despite this, and the contrasting scales of operation of the two approaches, they have in common a concern in constructing institutions at local level which link development planning with territoriality by building on and developing social capital. As a result there are a variety of lessons of the GT experience, which are pertinent in seeking to develop wider territorial approaches:
- The need to link local or regional development and resource management with efforts to put in place a responsive and accountable wider policy and institutional environment.
- The need to build upon historical cultural and institutional realities in focus territories by involving indigenous institutions, pre-existing organisations, in order to promote genuine accountability, representativeness and sustainability.

- The need to focus on securing real land and resource rights for beneficiaries, to provide long term incentives for sustainable development and resource management (although we would expect the land reform and land access based territorial initiatives being studies in this project to do this as a matter of course)
- The need to grant legal personality and formal responsibilities to empower new territorial fora and structures and enable devolution of responsibility, and related to this:
- The need for linkages with and influence on ongoing decentralisation programmes so as to ensure responsiveness of local government, or bring about new decentralised institutional arrangements which respond more effectively to local priorities.
- A need for linkages with sectoral government programmes to foster greater coordination in local delivery, maximise access to sources of support and avoid the need for new, parallel financing arrangements for local priorities
- The importance of a focus on credit delivery within territorial programmes, so as to assist in financing locally prioritised development activities and infrastructure
- The need to provide resources for delivery of some short term benefits to strengthen confidence and participation in longer term planning endeavours.
- The risks of premature institutionalisation of promising innovative approaches (such as GT or RTD) in formal sectoral programmes, and construction of standard models for implementation without consideration of the diversity of local contexts, By doing so this undermines accountability and sustainability, and failing to engage with existing programmes, policies and institutions so as to promote an enabling environment.

2.3.3 Pastoral resource management

Similar sets of problems have been encountered in attempts to institute community based management over rangeland and grazing resources for pastoralist groups in both East and West Africa. Fundamental to the survival of pastoralist systems is periodic access to key strategic resources including water, dry season grazing and livestock corridors permitting movement between seasonal pastures. By their nature, these are not subject to individual tenure arrangements but access rights to these resources can be protected by the adoption of suitable legal and institutional frameworks. Common property approaches cannot however be applied to pastoral resources in a simplistic way. Grazing areas can rarely be defined at a sufficiently broad level to include the full range of necessary landscape niches to guarantee adequate grazing and water irrespective of changing patterns of seasonal and multi-year variability; neither can user groups commensurate in scale with such a sustainable resource unit be identified, and at the landscape scale, user groups tend to be too heterogeneous to overcome the challenges of collective action. As a result fixed boundary CPR approaches tend not to work; moreover the pressures on grazing resources pertaining to specific groups tend to be exacerbated by the loss of resources from the pastoral system due to land use conversion (Bruce and Mearns 2002).

Importantly, however, experiments with community based resource and rangeland management have highlighted the need to understand the informal and formal existing rules and regulations (or institutional arrangements) governing access to natural resources and the degree to which they are working or are breaking down under pressure. Accordingly stakeholder negotiation has emerged as a critical element: to identify solutions to problems, to identify new livelihood opportunities and to build consensus around any new plans or institutional configurations.

Several Sahelian states have sought to clarify pastoral rights through devolution of management rights and responsibilities to local communities, and the development of pastoral laws or charters which regulate competing resource uses (notably grazing and farming), and incorporate elements of customary pastoralist land management, such as herd mobility, negotiated access to natural resources based on reciprocity, kinship and social ties and the multiple, sequential use of grazing and water resources by different actors. Such "negotiated tenure" approaches seek to establish frameworks to regulate fairly competition between user groups and manage conflicts, in which rights of access and boundaries may be subject to continual renegotiation (Behnke 1994). A related innovation across West Africa has been the development of *conventions locales* whereby access and management arrangements for shared natural resources over wide areas are negotiated between the full range of interested stakeholders including pastoralists themselves (Gueye and Tall 2004). These are helping to overcome the deficiencies of more localised *Gestion de Terroir* approaches which focused on individual settled village communities and tended to exclude mobile herders.

The main challenges in ensuring pastoralist land and resource access are institutional: to develop arrangements which deal with the social diversity and complexity which now characterises many arid and semi-arid areas, by establishing platforms for negotiation and consultation; strengthening the fragile cohesion between groups, providing legal backing or locally established bodies and management rules, and integrating the recognition and protection of pastoralist collective rights into legal system which are otherwise geared towards the protection of individual private property.

A common problem encountered by CBNRM programmes, *Gestion de Terroir*, and pastoral management schemes has been to focus only at the local scale, and frequently with an overly sectoralised perspective. A shift to a wider territorial focus, as opposed to a sector-specific and group-specific local project approaches provides the elements of a solution, which involves creation of a workable institutional framework for negotiation between different groups and different types of actors on a wider landscape scale. In most cases Frameworks and processes for negotiating access arrangements to pastoral resources and settling conflicts between groups will in many cases be more appropriate than adjudication of substantive, exclusive property rights for individual groups. Secure and exclusive rights to resources for specific individuals and groups need to be balanced with flexibility to respond to changing conditions.

A further critical factor in successful participatory resource management strategies is the need to build capacity and management skills, for community groups both to provide effective stewardship of the local resources and to engage effectively with other groups and institutional processes. Where there are external interests in resource exploitation, and particularly where natural resources have high economic value, and ultimately commercial development is inevitable, indigenous user groups require capacity to negotiate and management effective resource utilisation and development programmes jointly with governments and private sector interests, in addition to sovereign property rights.

3. Local Economic Development and urban linkages

3.1 Urban – Rural linkages and change

Empirical and participatory analysis of rural livelihood strategies uncovered their complexity, and the widespread importance of non-farm activities, and of urban migration for the poor. Together with the gathering pace of urbanisation, this has led to a growing recognition of urban – rural linkages and the enormous significance of migration in escaping from poverty and for economic development as a whole. DFID, for example, has incorporated a focus on urban-rural change at policy level as opposed to an earlier sectoral emphasis on rural livelihoods and urban development Drawing together recent thinking on these issues, DFID's Urban-rural change team underlines (DFID 2004 a) that location affects poverty and that there is an urgent need for a more integrated approach to rural and urban development.

> "Rural people depend on services and markets in their local town, while many people and enterprises in towns and cities depend on the rural economy…Neglect of urban-rural links and change leads to policy and institutional failure". "Recent surveys in rural areas of sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America suggest that non-farm sources account for 40 - 50% of household income". Moreover, "experiences of poverty differ according to location, including poor people's access to services" and there are "growing regional and local inequalities, for example neglect of remote rural areas and pockets of deprivation in cities". Aggregate data disguises "the distribution of poverty and inequality at local level [which]...many governments do not examine". (DFID 2004 a)

3.2 Local Economic Development

In the urban sector itself, in parallel with the evolution of thinking and practice in rural development Local Economic Development (LED) has been an evolving approach in seeking to stimulate the growth of employment, enterprise, the wider regional economy, and thereby, reduce poverty. Unlike the SL approach, LED has focused from the beginning on the development of geographical regions and, of markets, businesses. However, LED has said (and done) less about poverty explicitly, nor, until recently have LED approaches espoused poor people's participation or promoted the prosperity of rural hinterland regions – in contrast to their urbanisation and radical transformation.

Local economic development approaches (LED) can be defined as ' the process by which public, business and non-governmental sector partners work collectively to create better conditions for economic growth and employment generation. The aim is to improve the quality of life for all' (World Bank 2003). More broadly, LED can be seen as fundamentally about 'local people working together to achieve sustainable economic growth that brings economic benefits and quality of life improvements for all in the community. "Community" here is defined as a city, town, metropolitan area, or sub-national region (World Bank website, urban development 20/07/04). The ability of these 'communities' to adapt becomes ever more crucial as the global environment becomes increasingly competitive and dynamic – hence the focus of LED on growth and competitiveness. The World Bank has identified three successive "waves" of LED approaches, summarised below in Box 4.

Box 4. Waves of LED

The World Bank has identified three successive waves of LED

1. *1960-80s:* LED emerged with a focus on hard infrastructure investments, seeking foreign direct investment (FDI), external mobile manufacturing investment. Tools used included large grants, tax breaks, subsidized loans for manufacturing investors, subsidies for hard infrastructure investment, and lowering production costs by recruiting cheap labour.
2. *Mid-80s to 90s:* This wave of LED continued until the early 1980s, after which the focus shifted to expanding existing local businesses, and continuing the search for inward investment (targeted to specific sectors or geographical areas. Tools used were direct payments to individual businesses, business incubators, advice and training for SMEs, technical and business start up support, and both hard and soft infrastructure investment.
3. *Late 90s onwards:* Making the business environment favourable in its entirety became the focus, by promoting soft infrastructure investment, public-private partnerships, leveraging of private sector investment for public good, improving the quality of life and security for communities and potential investors, highly targeted inward investment attraction focusing on local comparative advantages. The main tools were the development of holistic strategies to provide a facilitative local business environment; a focus on stimulating growth of local firms; cross-community networking and collaboration; emphasis on developing collaborative business relationships; workforce development and soft infrastructure provision; supporting quality of life improvements; focus on service sector as well as manufacturing; facilitating economically-linked business clusters.

Summarised from LED Primer, World Bank, 2003

LED and territorial development approaches have much in common, indeed one of the origins of the territorial development approach has been the interest of international agencies in transferring primarily urban LED approaches focussing on building competitiveness and encouraging investment based on strong public-private partnerships into rural areas. In RTD approaches, the focus on territorial competitiveness is also quite strong, although this involves social and environmental as well as economic dimensions (LEADER 2001) and can also be tempered, by an emphasis on building social capital and quality of life, and particularly in less dynamic and poorly resourced areas, on building resilience and livelihood security based on the endogenous resources, comparative advantage, and unique features of territories.

Local governments - in urban areas - are usually responsible for local economic development approaches, establishing partnerships primarily with the local private sector. However, there is increasing recognition of rural-urban linkages particularly in relation to the provision of services, labour movements, and market access (World Bank 2003). Territorial approaches tend to take an integrated approach to broader, primarily rural areas, which incorporate small and medium towns' development, and rural-urban linkages are especially important in terms of markets, services, training and employment. While the state tends to act as enabler civil society organisations often play key role sin leadership and coordination, in partnership with self-selected elements of local government and the private sector.

The following table compares key aspects of LED and RTD drawing on information on LED (in its current wave or incarnation) from the World Bank website (ref) and from various sources on RTD.

Table 2. Comparison of Local Economic Development and Rural Territorial Development Approaches

Approach/ Criterion	LED	RTD
Scope and objectives	Strengthening the local economy in specific areas (normally towns and cities) by enhancing competitiveness and thus increasing sustainable growth and ensuring that growth is inclusive. Growth and economic competitiveness is a key aim. Bias toward urban or industrial areas and immediate surroundings	Strengthening local economies at meso-, level through fostering dynamic market development by drawing on the comparative advantages, wider linkages, and distinctive productive, historical, cultural and environmental features of regions, through socially inclusive and participatory planning strategies Economic competitiveness important, but also to incorporate social, environmental, institutional dimensions. Rural focus but incorporating small and medium sized towns.
Scale	"Community" may be city, town, metropolitan area, or sub-national region. LED can be undertaken at different geographic scales and levels. Most commonly local government pursues LED strategies for the benefit of their jurisdiction, but also actively pursued by private sector constituencies in specific areas	Meso-level, not necessarily following existing administrative boundaries which may be too small. Shared territorial identity amongst different actors within specific but not necessarily precisely bounded geographical areas is an important dimension. Aims to influence public policy, investment and resource allocation through upward downward and horizontal linking with different spheres of government and strengthened networks of social and economic actors.
Main actors	Local government, private sector, not-for-profit sectors and local community. Public-private partnerships tend to dominate	Similar range of governmental, private sector, NGOs, local community groups. Public-civil society partnerships tend to lead with elements of the state acting as enablers
Main strategies and initiatives	- Ensuring local investment climate is functional for local businesses. - Supporting SMEs and promoting new enterprise. - Attracting investment from elsewhere in the country and internationally. - Investing in physical infrastructure and soft infrastructure (e.g. human resource development). - Supporting the growth of particular clusters in business. - Targeting particular parts of the city for regeneration or growth (spatial targeting). - Supporting survivalist (often informal) businesses. - Targeting certain disadvantaged groups.	- Strengthening social networks and public-private – civil society partnerships in specific territories. - Promoting distinctive local products and territorial identities (including geographical and cultural features), through links with dynamic local and wider markets - Prioritising infrastructural investments to reflect social need and strengthen social inclusion - Institutional reconfiguration to overcome dominance of parochial political interests and promote participatory resource allocation and planning processes - Promoting the role of secondary cities and small/intermediate towns - Reaffirming the value of local knowledge and skills, products - Education and training to build capacity particularly for poor and marginalised groups

4. Theory and practice of territorial development

4.1 Experiences from the European Union Leader programme

The objective of the EU LEADER programme is to pilot a participatory approach to enable rural economic diversification, employment creation especially for women and youth and to improve livelihoods in rural territories based on local structures for social participation and the management of public and private funds. LEADER has sought to do this by combining local resources with innovative productive techniques, and promoting a new participatory enterprise culture based not simply on endogenous resources but on interaction with and transfers from wider external economy (Ortega 2004).

As a result of the crisis faced by many rural areas in Europe, LEADER has sought to provide new avenues for development in response to globalisation and the urgent need for regeneration so as to achieve a genuine "territorial competitiveness" (LEADER 2001).

The LEADER programme uses a specific intervention approach to promote the development of rural territories drawing on their own internal dynamics, the learning capacity of local actors and the potential of the initiatives and rural enterprises proposed by them. The variety, linkages and synergies of local initiatives developed promotes the growth of economic activity and employment. The integrated sustainable development model piloted and consolidated using LEADER programme resources is based on the following principles of bottom up, participatory planning; territorial focus; and the coordination of local action groups. It uses these to focus on four specific themes (Ortega 2001):

- Utilisation of new knowledge and technology to increase the competitiveness of territorial products and services
- Improvement of quality of life
- Realising the value of local produce, in particular by facilitating market access for small scale producers through collective action
- Realising the value of natural and cultural resources of interest to local communities

A practical example is provided by the application of LEADER fund by the regional government of Andalucia in southern Spain. Here, the programme financed the formation of Local Action Groups, involving existing community groups, NGOs, local businesses and public sector projects, linked into territorial networks across groups of contiguous municipalities[2] with broadly similar social, environmental and economic characteristics. Local Action Groups proposed projects aiming to stimulate diversification and employment, including training, ITC, production, marketing

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[2] As in Brazil and much of Latin America, Andalucian rural municipalities are generally very small, confined to single villages or small rural towns and their immediate hinterland, and without sufficiently developed social and economic networks to provide a focus for economic development in their own right.

prioritising marginalised areas, the unemployed, women and youth. Territorial network or forum meetings debated needs and priorities and identified their own management and coordination arrangements which could be based on existing NGOs or civil society organisations, municipal structure or private businesses acting as a management agent. These bodies, working with the Local Action Groups and backed by the regional government developed bids for LEADER resources, which once approved were co-funded by Andalucia and channelled through the managing agent for implementation by Local Action Group members. In many cases a strong territorial network of inter-related projects and groups has merged with an emphasis on agricultural diversification, processing and marketing, and rural tourism, including the small scale hospitality industry and nature, adventure and heritage tourism, backed by training, employment and group development initiatives.

The Leader programme has promoted a broader and more socially grounded understanding of competitiveness than is common in conventional economic interpretations, by incorporating the need to 'guarantee environmental, economic, social and cultural viability, engaging networks and inter-territorial articulation' (LEADER,2001).

The LEADER programme has made a systematic attempt to evaluate its achievements and successes, in its evolution through successive phases LEADER I, LEADER II, and its current incarnation LEADER Plus, which aims to add value to and consolidate the initiatives of the earlier phases by consolidate through the elaboration of a "territorial project" by each area aiming to achieve territorial competitiveness.

Territorial competitiveness can be seen to revolve around four dimensions. Firstly, *social competitiveness*, relates to the ability of 'social agents to effectively act together based on a shared concept of a project and promoted by coordination between different institutional levels'. Secondly, *environmental competitiveness* refers to the capacity of agents to 'value their surroundings, promoting distinctive elements of the territory and at the same time conserving natural resources and heritage'. Thirdly, *economic competitiveness* concerns the ability of actors to 'produce and maintain maximum value added in the territory by strengthening links between sectors, and combining resources to create value in the specific character of products and local services'. Finally, *localisation in the global context* is a function of the 'ability of agents to situate themselves in relation to other territories and the external world with the purpose of promoting the territorial project and guaranteeing its viability in the context of globalisation' (Leader, 2001, p5). This type of approach is evolving in various parts of the globe but experience is still limited particularly in terms of long term sustainability and ensuring that such initiatives are based primarily on local development strategies.

The lessons and achievements of the LEADER programme

Leader has assessed its achievements according to the effectiveness in linking individual territories to wider regional and global economic networks. Considering important linkages at different levels, the LEADER programme claims to have:

Local to global
- Highlighted the importance of controlling flows of resources, knowledge and products between the territory and the exterior.
- Identified ways of overcoming of problems confronting many rural areas - isolation, distance and low population density with the introduction of information and communication technology and know-how.
- Helped to modify the perceptions of urban consumers of rural areas by improving and promoting a specific image, in particular via an initiative of territorial quality branding, and encouraged the media to pay more attention to isolated and ignored areas.
- Supported the development of thematic, telecommunications and commercial networks to develop supply of products, heritage promotion etc based on collective action in various territories.

Inter-local
- Developed forms of exchange between European areas and also with other regions of the globe
- Transferred knowledge to promote learning and innovation
- Built solidarity and links between territories to achieve synergies and critical mass, economies of scale and to develop strong images. For example, heritage promotion (monuments, traditions, music) flourishes when marketed as part of a wider entity, such as a thematic route or path of discovery.

Local-global articulation
- Reaffirmed the importance of the local in the political arena
- Contributed to new functions for rural areas and given new orientations to agrarian and rural policies in Europe.

Global to local
- Reaffirmed the identity and image of rural areas making them identifiable within their region, country or at the European level.
- Promoted experimentation of new approaches to social problems, particularly issues pertaining to sustainable development.

Translated and summarised from Leader, 2001, p16-21

A series of further lessons can be distilled from LEADER's work concerning the nature of territorial rural competitiveness.

Analysis of rural territory competitiveness at the global level.

Image
- Image is key for projecting the territory in the global arena, particularly images and symbols of local identity.
- Different use of the image is critical and depends upon marketing practices and the capacity of local agents. Key issues include: relationships with the media; coordinated promotion of cultural activities via festivals etc; participation in fairs and other national and international events; completion of heritage stock-takes; relationships with the internet.
- To increase the impact of an image it is possible to use a range of tools: creating connections between different elements of a territory (e.g. the use of labels, quality designations, marks of origin and geographical provenance, etc); creating connections between territories; using

specific pre-existing channels for promotion (e.g. virtual networks).
- Level of convergence between the values upon which an image is based and those of consumers and the need to create consumer confidence/trust in local products. Use of feedback mechanisms is important, as is local organisation to attract demand particularly in urban areas.

External relations
- Consideration of linkages of close proximity, more distant but relatively accessible relationships and contractual relationships that require the establishment of precise agreements.
- Active networks require effective exchanges and tools for collaboration.
- Systems of organisation – sustaining networks exchanges requires attention to communication technology infrastructure, and to who is able to make use of this technology.
- Values – relations with external groupings should be based on clear sets of values.

Businesses and local enterprise
- Business has a key role in responding to global challenges: identify and analyse the character of existing businesses and enterprise in different sectors of the economy, their functioning, etc to assess existing capacity of local enterprises to project themselves in the global market.
- Application of agreements and norms at the local level: local application of standards at is often flawed, but cannot be ignored in the long-term, for example, investment will be needed to guarantee sanitary standards? There are needs for negotiation between actors at different levels and for support and capacity building to develop standards and norms adapted to local rural conditions.
- Values – do local enterprises have an ethical conscience? Are businesses sensitive to questions of identity, origination, environmental protection, landscape conservation, and social inclusion?

Local governance and management of financial resources
- A key element for negotiations with other levels. Local capacity to create horizontal and vertical linkages, promoting associative and collective action are important, as are the levels of interest of citizens in global issues, and how these are expressed and represented outside of the territory.
- The need to find a balance between what is defined locally and what is defined at other levels. What are the spaces for negotiation between different institutions and citizen representatives?
- Tools for horizontal and vertical coordination – how can links be strengthened, how do local associations link to external networks and what tools have been used?
- Organisational systems – How does l consultation occur between local authorities and other administrative and political levels? What are the interest groups in the territory and what is their contractual capacity in the political (regional and national) scene? Analysis of relations between public and private organisations and how local associations can claim greater legitimacy to negotiate at other levels. What are existing relations with neighbouring territories and banks/credit facilities?
- Values – what is the level of citizen conscience and participation and interest in specific issues such as environmental protection, quality of life, and immigration?

Translated and summarised from Leader, 2001, p25-32

Using the lessons distilled from the experiences of the Leader programme, a strategy for competitiveness at the global level can be set out.

Constructing a strategy for competitiveness at the global level

The active creation of initiatives is necessary in response to the opportunities and challenges of globalisation:

- Territorial development processes should have various stages including identifying common interests, defining a shared strategy, carrying out a programme of action, and promotion/obtaining recognition (e.g. of new standards, quality labels etc).
- The creation of a new collective dynamic – including virtual as well as real linkages – within the territory is fundamental to the development process.
- The importance of promoting the 'local' in the spaces opened up by globalisation: drawing on lessons from limited existing experience, it is necessary to employ a number of inter-related strategies: identify common problems and opportunities; clarify existing local identities and create new ones; value specific local resources that may have been forgotten; search for a new competitiveness through high quality traditional products; establish non-traditional markets; promote quality and improving the market acceptance and access of local produce; and transmit new images and messages to organise the promotion of products at appropriate levels.
- Reinforce networks. Horizontal inter-territory networks to meet the challenges of globalisation are necessary at four different levels: links of close proximity to develop common products and services; links with similar territories; links of solidarity and transfer; and links within a geographical unit such as a region, country, or at European level. Links between territories should include sharing technical innovation and research projects, responding in coordinated fashion to new technical challenges, identifying common needs and finding joint solutions, constructing links of solidarity to assist in learning.
- Reaffirming the uniqueness/specificity and capacity of rural areas to find response to global problems – establishing common standards to create new points of reference, integrate international standards and agreements in local practice, establish tools to promote citizen environmental awareness, and mechanisms to demonstrate to urban consumers quality can derive from greater consideration of the environment, and to protect biodiversity.
- Dialogue between levels to facilitate the development of policies adapted to rural zones as a new conception of the function of public institutions, together with demonstration of positive changes created by local action, recognition by government of capacity for local innovation and consolidation of an integrated approach through the creation of networks, associations and federations.

Translated and summarised from Leader, 2001, p37.

4.2 FAO's territorial development methodology

FAO's approach shares the developmental and philosophical underpinnings of other work on RTD, as an approach to development of rural areas. It emerged from FAO's Land Tenure (SDA) and Rural Institutions and Participation(SDAR) Services' work in Latin America with inputs from discussions in Eastern Europe, and is being applied in different ways by FAO and government and civil society partner organisations to cases in these regions as well as in the Phillipines and in Lusophone Africa. FAO has drafted a manual detailing the methodology (Groppo 2004) the main elements of which are summarised here (passages in italics indicate direct quotations from the document)

The emergence of territoriality in the current discussion on rural development is not fortuitous. It is the product of economic and social changes within countries and in the wider political context of globalization. It responds to the need to adapt methodologies, instruments and activities to the new requirements imposed by these changes and their undesired impacts...it ... directly involves rural populations in the design of new development perspectives.

Actors define the territories they live in or interact with. The actors' territoriality, or territorial vision, helps to establish a common identity and supports the realization of actors' strategies and projects. In addition, a plurality of actors with different and sometimes conflicting interests and values influence the dynamics and interrelationships within the same space..

RTD approaches arise from the failure of top down development approaches (noting the capacity constraints of NGOs in scaling up and integrating micro / local level projects into wider national and sub-national development contexts) and a series of current challenges in addressing rural development issues, including:

- Globalisation processes - *environmental, social, economic and political global processes, regional changes, national adjustment and development policies all influence dynamics and functioning of rural areas, even in the most remote areas. The natural resources upon which people rely are changing, markets and economic processes are shifting, information is rapidly spread and institutional environments are less stable. Hence, globalization processes affects the positioning and redefinition of the role of "territories", "local spaces" and "proximity".*
- Decentralization and disengagement of the state cause a lack of public service provision: withdrawal of the state can lead to a credibility gap in the eyes of civil society and rural populations
- The diversity of actors and projects leading to inefficiencies in local resource use and management: (and to conflicts of interest amongst different sectors and levels of government and a growing range of CSOs)
- Interdependencies within and between territories cause difficulties in defining territorial limits and the scope and scale of territorial interventions

FAO's approach conceives of territory as an arena for dialogue and negotiation. A systemic, multi-sectoral and holistic vision of the territory …. *enables vertical and horizontal integration between territorial scales and levels (e.g. geographic, socio-economic, administrative). Working on a territorial level allows focusing on the assets of the territory (including the cultural and natural heritage), its potentialities and constraints.*

FAO's approach has concentrated on the development of methodologies which can be applied to help manage conflicts over territorial resources - in which different actors territorial claims, visions and perceptions come into conflict – specifically contested land and natural resource rights. In the design of territorial development strategies, through processes of negotiation *the different and sometimes conflicting values, visions and interests related to the use and management of the land and other natural resources coexist in a given territory…have to be oriented towards a common ground...*

The approach has been applied by FAO in the Phillippines, Hungary, Tunisia, Mozambique and (in a post-conflict context) Angola, as well as in Latin America.

The FAO document uses a territorial approach to provide suggestions to:

- Formulate rural development projects and support ongoing field activities;

- Empower disadvantaged actors and their organizations to voice out their needs and concerns;
- Support bottom-up decision making processes and strategy formulation;
- Promote local development initiatives in the context of national regulations and international norms, with special reference to the realization of human rights and the conservation of the environment;
- Foster inter-agency collaboration and partnerships with governments, NGOs and civil society;
- Discuss international strategies for rural development.

Conceptual principles of FAO's PNTG approach

Actor based: Recognition of the heterogeneity of actors' interests and visions.

Territorially based: - on territories as spatial units of analysis, shaped by social and historical relations between the actors and the environment / physical space

Dynamic: Understanding of and learning from the complexity of a changing environment to support positive patterns of change and help mitigate negative patterns.

Systemic: Assumption of the complexity and interdependencies within and between territories.

Multi-sectoral: Integration of the environmental, social, economic, political, cultural dimensions of actors' territorial visions

Multi-level: Integration of different territorial levels and scales in the [development of an improved] governance system.

Participatory and negotiated: Notion of the territory as an arena of negotiation to strengthen dialogue and mutual trust, and increase bargaining power.

(adapted from Groppo 2005)

FAO set out a methodology for territorial negotiation processes which should be:

- **A learning process**. not outcome oriented but emphasising the process of re-establishing social dialogue in order to guide the course towards a negotiated territorial agreement that effectively takes into consideration and involves all the actors.
- **Coherent and feasible**, so as to be efficient and effective as possible given available time and financial resources. This does not necessarily require exact data and in-depth observations, but should not neglect anything important for understanding problems, causes and territorial trends.
- **Transparent and accountable**, based on a wide access to and open sharing and use of information through participatory communication strategies. A transparent process facilitates clear assumption of responsibility by the actors involved, and this should be a key indicator of the quality of the process.
- **Iterative and progressive** in order to be able to come back to a question and draw up new hypotheses, analyses, evaluations, adding new elements to the diagnostic little by little and allowing for a renegotiation of the outcome and agreements.

- **Flexible and replicable** in both space (i.e. applicable to different geopolitical, agro-ecological and socio-economic contexts) and time. Progressive analysis is needed, with continuous adaptation and response to changing contexts; respecting actors' pace of learning and modalities of expression, in order to ensure that resulting plans are feasible and sustainable. Simplicity and practicality are required so that the process be easily understood and to allow actors' involvement in each phase.

A fundamental element of the approach is what FAO refers to as the **Social Territorial Agreement** (STA) - the result of a participatory process which includes plans of activities or initiatives for local development, and on institutional arrangements or distribution of resources (in short, medium, and long term) defined through negotiation among the different actors in a given territory. This agreement is contractual in nature and may require external support to build capacities and access external resources. The territorial agreement should also reflect improved social cohesion within the territory.

In order to reach agreement a phased approach is required

1. The views of different actors need to be understood. Existing demands for external support have to be critically assessed to understand their rationale, nature and the interests and strategies of those from whom the demand originated (including hidden agendas). Historical analysis provides a leading thread to analyze different actors' territorial visions and understanding, by reconstructing actors' positions, interests, and strategies, and the potentialities and vulnerabilities of the territory. This is a diagnostic phase which should involve open dialogue among the actors. Serving to equalise their information on the territory. Context-specific political, institutional and legal frameworks need to be analyzed to understand the existing rules of the game at regional, national and international level and their influence on local development.

2. In the second phase, actors are supported to set out coherent and feasible perspectives for the future development of the territory and to formulate proposals for later negotiation. Negotiation depends on actors' margins of flexibility, willingness to negotiate and bargaining power and abilities Historical analysis also allows causal analysis of constraints and visions (e.g. on access to and use of land and natural resources), and highlights current dynamics and territorial trends. By validating the diagnosis, actors become aware of all the issues at stake within the territory, and can come to formulate possible proposals for territorial development, as a common ground for negotiation.

3. The negotiation process should aggregate the diversity of interests in a given territory in order to formulate rural development proposals. It should follows procedures and rules that the actors must agree upon in advance and that are enforced by a credible and legitimized third party. The negotiation is not simply about voting on and prioritizing proposals but finding a consensus that satisfies all the interests to the greatest possible extent.

In summary, an interest-based negotiation process for conflict management as described by FAO has three main stages:

- The identification and discussion of the issues at stake;
- The examination of the identified possible solutions;
- The elaboration of a comprehensive set of decisions that may materialize in the form of a Social Territorial Agreement.

"The whole process is accompanied and facilitated in a climate of respect and confidence. A transparent and continuous exchange of information among all participants is fundamental in developing individual and collective capacities to design strategies of territorial development and jointly assess resource needs and solve common issues.....The process is intended to channel community activities so that participation, commitment, negotiation and ownership, interact toward an effective solution of the problem".

5.0 Territorial Development in Latin America

The theory and practice of Territorial development has been most developed in Latin America. Territorial approaches emerged in the 1990s as attempts to reformulate policies and practical strategies for rural development in response to changes in the nature of rural societies and economies across the continent, changes which Latin America have come to refer to as a "new rurality" or "new ruralness", arising from the effects of globalisation and global change, and the impacts of previous development policies.

Following to FAO (Cleary et al 2003) these changes can be characterised by:
- The modernisation of agriculture including the spread of green revolution technologies, the emergence of smaller commercially oriented farm units, the spread of contract farming and greater integration into the market for successful farmers
- Greater availability of transport infrastructure, health, education facilities, and credit services in rural areas, together with increased diffusion of literacy, primary education, mass communications and the use of electronic media.
- Diversification of rural livelihoods with off farm activities (trade, cottage industries and small scale processing) casual and wage labour, and migration to minor and major urban centres, and urban-rural linkages generally assuming increasing importance for rural households, as agricultural incomes frequently decline.
- An accompanying growth in social mobilisation based on a strengthening of cultural and regional identify amongst rural people and minority groups and political struggles for access to resources, notably land, and to social justice.

The "new rurality also reflected the impacts of three principal development policy directions thrusts during the 1980s and 90s:
- *Structural adjustment and market liberalisation*, involving the rolling back on the state, the dismantlement of centralised state led development programmes and privatisation of parastatals, creating a situation in which development outcomes are influenced primarily by the market, and with greater space for intervention by civil society and NGOs, backed by international donors.

- *Decentralisation* of administrative and planning responsibilities to province, district and municipal levels, with some transfer of capacity and resources to those levels.
- The rise of the *Sustainable Development* paradigm, incorporating an emphasis on the environment, natural resources management, biodiversity conservation, intergenerational equity and trade offs with conventional growth based economic development.

Territorial Development emerged as a theoretical, analytical and policy response to these development and changes, alongside a wide range of governmental and non-governmental practical initiatives, which aimed to strengthen bottom up and participatory approaches to natural resource and environment management, and to build capacity for local development based on new decentralised local government institutions in partnership with civil society and the private sector. The practical experience of these initiatives, in a context of extended market networks, growing rural-urban links, labour migration, resource management strategies extending across large ecosystems, natural units and river basins, and similarly extended forms of social networks and organisation, together with scarce resources, led to a growing emphasis on action at the meso-territorial scale, as opposed to the micro-local or major region, as the most appropriate and feasible level for institutional planning, economic development, and social action. This in turn has led to a wider exploration of the notion of territory in Latin American Development literature, and how it might be operationalised in policy.

The Latin American literature explores a number of inter-related development themes, including those mentioned earlier in this study such as territorial competitiveness, enterprise and diversification; citizenship and democracy; building appropriate institutions; regional integration and responses to globalisation; cultural diversity; and building social capital. Here we summarise the recent analysis of territorial development themes based on a recent key study (Schejtmann and Berdegue 2003) and a rich series of papers presented at the First International Forum on *Territory Rural Development and Democracy* held at Fortaleza in Brazil in November 2003 (IICA 2003).

5.1 Rethinking rural development
Sepulveda, Rodriguez, and Echeverri (December 2003) discuss the origins and nature of the ongoing paradigm shift from the traditional approach to rural development in Latin America to a territorial approach. This includes consideration of pluriactivity (multiple livelihoods strategies) and the development of livelihoods thinking, with reference to key Anglophone literature (such as Ellis & Biggs 2001); the role of small and medium rural towns; the role of natural resource systems in providing environmental and recreational services and in supporting diverse livelihoods; the place of new private sector actors, and the disappearance of old state ones, such as extension and marketing organisations. The analysis re-evaluates the roles of the agricultural and rural economies in overall growth: while rural economies have diversified from agriculture, and off farm activities, employment in rural towns, and other natural resource based activities, and rural tourism have risen in importance, agriculture continues in many cases to play a dynamic role and its linkages and complementarities to other sectors and markets need to be understood. At the same time the majority of transactions in rural areas still take place in local, regional

domestic markets (as opposed to external national and international markets). Accordingly, the authors call for renewed emphasis on dynamic opportunities for endogenous growth, rather than export led growth in development strategies. The implications are to focus analysis and planning at the territorial level, assessing the linkages of rural areas with wider markets, consider the role of small and medium towns as integral to rural development, rethink the role of private sector actors and identify opportunities for enhanced public-private   partnerships, design new institutional arrangements which transcend narrow sectoral concerns, and strengthen the competitiveness of rural territories as a whole.

5. 2 Territory, democratic development, and citizenship
A further theme explored by Sepulveda et al (2003) and Echeverri (2003), is that of the territory as the site of democratic development, and the role of territorial development in strengthening citizenship. The authors contend that democracy remains dysfunctional without genuine citizenship, which requires that people, as beneficiaries of development processes, become subjects of policy rather than its objects.

Echeverri (2003) argues that citizenship involves a broad structure of rights and responsibilities, based on "the collective interest in constructing environments which favour development and the attainment of individual interests". This involves "an awareness of inter-dependence and belonging to a group, the recognition of collectivity and acceptance of the common good". Citizenship is constructed through its active expression, which goes beyond simply voting in a system of representative democracy, and extends to diverse forms of citizens action related to the quality of the environment, local services, neighbourhood associations various forms of social solidarity, and the construction of formal and informal institutions which reflect the common good. "Citizenship constitutes an essential principle of economic and political democracy" and without active citizenship the objectives of well being and progress are unattainable. Echeverri argues that the construction of democracy involves the exercise of citizenship in two fundamental institutional spaces: that of the market and that of the territory. While the market is fundamental to liberal capitalism, the new democratic left in Latin America also accepts the need for an efficient, equitable and just market. Yet this remains remote in many cases, creating a need for the state to intervene to secure genuine economic democracy. This in turn requires political capital founded on legitimate political institutions and the collective, active citizenship expressed through civil society organisations and focussed on specific physical spaces, neighbourhoods and communities to which citizens belong. The social institution which incorporates the sense of community is "territory as the cradle or source of citizenship" the result of population, culture, economics, resources, interests and political energies within determinate geographical space. "The territory defines the scenario within which social life unfolds and where political institutions are created for the exercise of citizenship. The space in which political action is collectivised, is, therefore, the space where democracy is constructed". Echeverri sets out the hypothesis that the crises of governance in Latin America are the result of a confrontation between the processes of construction of citizenship and territorial democracy with archaic and anti-democratic political structures which defend concentrated wealth and power at the local level. Political institutions have been "incapable of transforming a system of territorial domination into a system of democratic territorial integration".

Conceiving of "territory" as the space for convergence between diverse actors (different social groupings, local communities, civil society organisations and private enterprise), Sepulveda et al (2003) propose that the state needs to act as an enabler of cooperation and shared responsibility, by establishing "rules of the game" for territorial development and new forms of organisation involving civil society, the private sector and government agencies within specific territories. In this way territorial institutions can become a vehicle for the expression of democratic political will, and the territorial approach is conducive to integrating top-down (based on the supply of programmes and policies by central government) and bottom-up (based on the demands of local actors) development approaches and the development of more participatory democracy, which is more likely to result in genuine empowerment of rural people than participatory rural development conventionally conceived.

5.3 Institutional development (new institutionality)

A related theme explored by Sepulveda et al (2003) and others is the need for a "new institutionality" adequate to enable development in the context of the "new rurality" which characterises Latin America. The development policies of the 1960s and 1970s development policy focussed on national institutions with minimal local reach; more recently emphasis has shifted to decentralisation, alongside the role of global and regional institutions, with the role of the state at national level becoming one of providing resources and capacity to enable development at local level. Nevertheless there is a continuing dominance of sectoral agendas in government and civil society, for instance the singular focus on development of individual crops such as maize or soya in official agricultural development strategies, or the singular demand for land reform which until recently characterised the stance of rural social movements such as MST in Brazil, to the neglect of other aspects of the rural economy necessary to enable pro-poor agrarian change.

The "new institutionality" advocated by the proponents of territorial development has a number of key aspects

- Transferring political power, financial resources and capacity for rural development to local level institutions which enable civil participation and the development of public – private partnerships. In cases where decentralisation is well advanced, formal transfers of power and responsibility, and, at least to some degree, of financial resources may have been achieved, but the decentralised institutional architecture may not correspond to the challenges of democratised territorial development. In most cases the territory, as a space for development planning and action, will not correspond with municipal boundaries, but be characterised by combinations of other cultural, historical, ecological and economic factors. Moreover municipal governments, especially in poor regions, simply lack the capacity for productive transformation and development of strategic partnerships (Schejtmann and Berdegue 2003). Consequently decentralisation is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for territorial development. Institutional development needs to achieve effective links at the territorial scale across municipal local government boundaries, which can be approached by building on emerging inter-municipal consortia and existing civil society networks and regional development agencies and programmes.
- Overcoming narrow sectoral forms of organisation and planning: Institutions for rural development need to extend beyond agriculture and grapple simultaneously

with questions of citizen's participation in decision making, access to land, natural resources and environmental management, access to markets, investment, credit, security and access to justice and the development of human capital. Territorial institutions should become vehicles for expression of non-sectoral political will. National government requires coordination mechanisms to harmonise sectoral policies, and articulate and re-focus them at the territorial level, including planning, infrastructure, agriculture, health, education, environment

- Construction of a new interface between national government and local development institutions. This will involve sectoral policies and financing arrangements which enable flexible response to needs and demand at territorial level, as well as technical coordination mechanisms and capacity building which make operational links between national government and the territorial institutions.

Despite the potential advantages of building new territorial institutions, the institutional re-engineering involved is likely to prove a major, complex and long term task (Sepulveda et al 2003, Urquiza 2003). Much may depend on the nature of existing decentralisation programmes, and how complementary they are to cross-sectoral organisation at the territorial scale. Innovative, transitional institutional arrangements to manage a shift to a territorial approach may be needed in the short term. Decentralisation requires, paradoxically, a strong central control and an active relationship with checks and balances between the different levels of government to avoid excessive power at one single level (Schejtmann and Berdegue 2003): in Northeastern Brazil, municipal prefects hold considerable power over the application of scarce resources, for example. Federal government structures, as in Brazil again, may pose additional complications. Given the complexity and scale of the tasks (ensuring the capacity of appropriate levels of local government in technical, administrative and policy aspects, coordination between different levels, establishing democratic
territorial bodies capable of directing investment n economic transformation, and the spaces and mechanisms for public-private and civil partnerships), and the vested interests at stake in bureaucracy and in the private sector, consensus around a territorial development vision will need to extend across different sectors, to outlast the mandates of specific administrations, and be shared to a degree across the political spectrum.

Abramovay (2003) concludes that the present strategies of the Brazilian state in combating regional inequalities are still a long way from the idea of territorial development, characterised by discourse about redistributive mechanisms between major regions rather than mechanism and incentives to provoke dynamic local realignments of productive resources. Although Brazil's Agrarian Development Ministry (whose territorial development initiatives are discussed below) might succeed in improving the delivery of resources to its own constituency (small family farmers and land reform settlements and movements) through strengthening area based or territorial approaches, a broader coordinated territorial vision across a number of different Ministries is required to enable the contractual relationships between different sectors and social groups to improve local development planning capacity. To go beyond simply targeting delivery of public resources to the poorest Government must stimulate genuine partnerships between local politicians, the private sector and civil society networks. Abramovay suggests that a key instrument for doing this should be the competitive awarding of funds according to the quality of

development projects, understood in terms of the breadth of interest groups they bring together and the potential to build dynamic linkages between the poor and private enterprise.

5.4 Territorial competitiveness and enterprise development

In common with recent thinking in South Africa and elsewhere (Hart 2002, discussed below), Sepulveda et al (2003) find a diversity of local and regional development trajectories in Latin America, in a context of broader globalisation, which are far from homogeneous. The characteristic economic conditions of Latin American development (including assymetry of information, concentration of land ownership, monopolies, elite capture of economic wealth, widespread corruption) alongside variations in natural resources and conditions, historical patterns of settlement and economic exploitation, have given rise to an uneven mosaic of territorial advantage and disadvantage.

In order to attract resources, investments and participate in markets, rural territories must become competitive. While this means trading on their natural and historical comparative advantage, regional inequalities mean that poorer areas must find strategies to develop their resources and their competitiveness. A central ingredient is the role of public – private partnerships, whereby efficient and competitive private enterprise can generate positive externalities by attracting investment and market demand which benefit the broader territories in which they are located. Shifting from an emphasis on private competitiveness of individual enterprises, or on the sectoral competitiveness of e.g. livestock or fruit farmers of a particular region, to a wider notion of territorial competitiveness requires a consensus based approach to economic development, brokered by new territorial development institutions and fora.

Territorial competitiveness requires building capacity local enterprise development to produce goods and services, add value and create employment based on reinforcing links between different sectors, and the utilisation of local resources, products and services (Sepulveda et al 2003). Since local economies and enterprises do not operate in isolation, coordination of market development within and across territories involving enterprise clusters, value chains and economic corridors is also critically important. Understanding of the potential for the development of production, processing and marketing chains for the goods and services produced in particular areas, and the opportunities for adding value and the incentives for attracting investment is required. Similarly, a drive to market the potential and attractions of the territory and its distinctive produce is needed.

In order to enable economic development and partnerships on sufficient scale to generate localised economic growth, non-farm employment and poverty reduction de Janvry (2003), responding to Schejtmann and Berdegue, favours an economic definition of territories of sufficient size whereby substantial secondary cities, and non-natural economic resources, such as harbours or manufacturing plants can be incorporated alongside primarily rural areas, and new supra-municipal administrative structures put in place for the territorial development of relatively large and diversified economic regions to direct development planning – alternatively municipalities can form ad hoc associations for specific purposes such as watershed management or tourism promotion. The key functions of territorial development

institutions are to coordinate decision making by public, corporate and civil society agencies, to plan public investments and the marketing and promotion of the territory.

The ad hoc association of municipalities into locally branded regions has been evident for purposes of regional tourism development and marketing, and the idea of territorial competitiveness based on marketing of cultural and historical identity has been prominent in recent initiatives for rural tourism development in both Latin America and Europe. According to Carballo (2003), rural tourism provides a versatile instrument for territorial development by bringing together diverse social actors, systematising local knowledge and giving it value, generating off-farm employment and developing dynamic linkages between rural and urban markets. Moreover the promotion of rural tourism can link with the promotion and branding of other local produce and services such as crafts, ceramics, gastronomy, honey, medicinal plants, alcoholic drinks and niche-specific eco- adventure- and cultural / historical tourism, also fostering natural resource and landscape conservation.

Abramovay (2003) sees developing the productive capacity and market access of small scale entrepreneurs as the most important challenge for territorial development, and the key to poverty reduction. Although only a minority of the poor may be dynamic entrepreneurs, the majority of small case farmers and poor urban workers, as individuals and collective groups are effectively small business people who can benefit from productive innovation, access to markets and to capital assets. The mission of territorial development is to develop forms of organisation which cultivate learning, innovation and increased competitiveness of family sector farming. The context in which this takes place may, however, be difficult. As noted by OECD (2003) "poor areas frequently contain an excessive proportion of businesses operating in markets characterised by weak growth and excessively easy access… sectors of activity with limited establishment costs in terms of capital and skills". Nevertheless, according to Abramovay, even small farmers tend to operate as entrepreneurs, and territorial links of spatial or social proximity can stimulate joint action by farmers and small business people to obtain input and credit, sell goods and promote the specific qualities of local produce.

However, accomplishing this is not simply a question of increasing public investment directed towards the poor, and the improved productivity and market integration depends on territorial networks comprising a diversity of private public and collective social actors. Abramovay contends that territorial development to stimulate small business development requires the development of contractual relationships between the state, elected local authorities the private sector and civil society associations, and that private business has a critical role to play. "It is very difficult to conceive of dynamic processes of dynamic territorial development in which established businesses do not play an active role". Despite the backwardness, conservatism and corrupt political networks of the traditional land owning class, in Northeastern Brazil for example, "….territorial development cannot be reduced to a pact between social movements, local authorities and the state" (despite the acknowledged advantage of such arrangements), and cannot afford to turn its back on the private sector. Although the conflicting interests between the private sector and the mass of the poor may be difficult to resolve, especially in societies where rural social relations are characterised by class exploitation and immense disparities in access to productive

resources, the state can put in place incentives to induce cooperative behaviour between social groups hitherto in relations of conflict or paternalistic dependency.

Abramovay notes with concern that of the 40 incipient cases of territorial development policy initiatives in Brazil surveyed by Weigand Junior (2003), the role of private business was mentioned in only three, none of which were in the Northeast. Moreover in the experiences in Columbia, Mexico and Ecuador cited by Sepulveda et al (2003) the private sector did not play a role.

5.5 Social Capital and Social Diversity

A key dimension of territorial development is the process of strengthening social capital, the social economy, social networks and both contractual and affective relationships between individuals and groups across specific areas and regions. Social capital – networks of social relations which provide frameworks for livelihood and survival strategies – is a means to access new economic opportunities, and consequently needs to be developed to enable the poor to access a broader range of resources to strengthen territorial competitiveness (Abramovay 2003). For others the strengthening of social networks is more of an end than a means of territorial development. Jara (2003) criticises the growing emphasis on territorial competitiveness, challenging the "myth that there can be no development without competition" and the idea that social capital should provide the foundation for territorial competitiveness competitive development, because of its metaphorical origin of the concept in the ideological framework of liberal capitalism, whereby natural and human resources have come to serve primary objectives of successful economic competition. Instead, Jara proposes a notion of social and territorial quality by which the benefits of development should be measured, while acknowledging that this developmental quality will very much depend on successful market development within and across rural territories, and the role of social networks and organisations in spreading equitably the benefits of prosperity. Jara argues that territorial development needs to politicise economic development but that politics should also be "ethicalised", and that development should be seen as essentially a moral endeavour prioritising social inclusion, and that "…competitiveness between equals cannot be constructed in all territories", but that social quality can be.

The improvement of territorial and social quality involves social inclusion, to extend the participation and opportunities. If RTD seeks to help resolve problems of poverty and unemployment, as most authors argue that it should, then skills development training and livelihood and market opportunities for women and youth are likely to be needed. In many cases women may have a central role to play because of their central roles in agricultural production, and in social and domestic reproduction, including the management of household economy and of home-based businesses acting frequently as economic and cultural guardians of the home community in situations where men pursue migration based livelihood strategies. In addition important and distinctive cultural, historical and economic features of rural areas are their social diversity, and minorities have an important role to play in the cultural development and promotion of rural areas. Territorial networks and institutions need to ensure representation of minority groupings and bring them together with others. Socially excluded groups in Latin America, such as indigenous and Afro-descendent communities frequently have strong territorial claims of their own over specific land and natural resources. RTD processes need to find ways of legitimising these claims,

reconciling them with others, while enabling social and market linkages linking across wider territories, and access to education, training, health services and infrastructure.

5.6 Territory and regional integration

According to Schneider (2003) the idea of the wider economic region, conceived as a determinate geographic space and assembly of natural characteristics and resources is limited and outdates as a reference point for development policy. The demise of the idea of regional planning – which tended to privilege urban and industrial development on a growth based model whereby regional development is measured in terms of aggregate indicators such as GDP and income per capita - originates in the crises of macro-economic intervention faced by various states in the mid -1970s compounded by subsequent rise of neo-liberalism and structural adjustment. Moreover, from the 1990s when new criteria of sustainability and quality of life came to be applied in judging the successfulness of economic development traditional conceptions of regional economic development ceased to make sense, given the vast disparities in wealth, the effectiveness in utilisation of local resources, and environmental impacts of growth which are masked by aggregate statistics, the idea of the economic region as the unit and rationale for development intervention ceased to be make sense. Consequently the notion of territory, with its connotations of development quality, social participation, sustainability and competitiveness, has "emerged as a new unit of reference for the operations of the state and the regulation of public policies".

Nevertheless despite the renewed focus on the local and cross-sectoral quality of development outcomes, and the scope for endogenous growth, based on social partnership and territorial identify and competitiveness, external demand continues to exert a decisive influence on local opportunities for change. Unless the wider external social and economic dynamics which structure territorial development are actively addressed, the approach risks simply substituting a new broader notion of "territory" for the older geographically and economically reductionist idea of "region" as a planning unit for the central state. "Territories are not islands, because they are situated in a national and international context which has social, economic, cultural, political and other dynamics which are systematic and which influence, pressurise and limit the space for action of [local] agents." In order to avoid repeating the same mistakes (of earlier regional economic and integrated rural development, it is necessary to recall the idea of territories "as spaces of mediation and articulation between the local and the external environment" and the fact that territorial development represents the possibility of coherent collective and institutional responses to the uneven impacts of globalisation in rural areas (Schneider 2003). In responding to the external environment, drawing on internal natural and human resources, in the face of frequently serious constraints in terms of resource potential and levels of social organisation, there is no unique recipe to be followed and different territories will need to find strategies based on different combinations of technology based agricultural development, non-farm employment and labour migration, which still represent the basic repertoire, together with welfare schemes and income transfers (Shejtmann and Berdegue 2003, Ellis and Biggs 2001). However, citing European experiences in territorial development, Schneider finds that what they do have in common is a predominant emphasis on diversification and cross-sectoral harmonisation, rather than specialisation.

Schneider identifies seven different ways in which rural territories can link with and respond to the dynamics of external social and market demand, all of which present development opportunities:

- Agricultural production and raw materials supply: the traditional linkage of rural areas to external markets, is still of fundamental importance
- The need to re-think rural-urban dynamics, which include but go beyond the supply of labour from rural areas and the urbanisation of the countryside
- The growing importance of pluriactivity, diversified livelihoods and non-farm employment, through which large numbers of rural people depend on activities in, or in response to demand from, external areas
- New relations between producers and consumers; as indicated by the growth of niche markets whereby consumers demand increasingly guarantees of quality, environmental and social standards, and value more direct relations with producers. Although these markets are incipient they create opportunities for rural territorial productive initiatives
- The new recognition by urban society of the amenity, recreational, environmental intrinsic value of rural areas, landscapes, natural resource systems and landscapes, and biodiversity.
- Socio-cultural change in rural areas, resulting from the spread of communication media and globalised patterns of consumption, whereby rural people, particularly youth, have greater access to the products, cultural symbols, value and language of increasingly internationalised urban society.

5.7 Territorial Development and Poverty Reduction

Although the relevance of territorial development to poverty reduction is implicit, few Latin American authors do so explicitly. Concerned to promote the approach amongst international development agencies Schejtmann and Berdegue in their detailed study *Rural Territorial Development* (2002), as a central objective and set out a set out a road map for rural poverty reduction as a central objective, based on the simultaneous and synergistic transformation of production systems and institutional renewal to increase opportunities for the poor to participate in dynamic markets. Simply put, rural poverty reduction depends on agriculture, other rural employment, or out-migration – assuming that, as is frequently the case social networks affording new livelihood opportunities are extended beyond the territory into other regions and major cities, rather than operating
primarily within it.

According to Abramovay (2003), an essential route to poverty reduction is small scale enterprise development by and for the poor, which must take place in practice, in specific territories. He sees territorial development in its broadest sense involves a "national policy for stimulating and broadening the location specific or spatial social networks of the poor" so as to "strengthen the productive capacity and integration into dynamic and competitive markets of millions of families" of small producers and service providers. "Territories are decisive not only as a form of social control over income transfers and redistribution, but because they form the base without which it would be impossible to ensure that the distribution of resources (land, credit, education, technical assistance) to the poorest translates to broadening their productive capacity and insertion in dynamic markets".

While territorial competitiveness and integration with dynamic markets are common features of each of these two perspectives, Abramovay focuses on enterprise development by the poor and the role of larger private sector actors in stimulating broader social and economic benefits within territories, whereas Schejtmann and Berdegue view competitiveness as a systemic matter, dependent on the conditions and characteristic of the wider environment. Consequently they place greater stress on the spread of technological innovation, new knowledge and technical capacity across rural territories to transform production and the role of demand external to a territory in driving productive change. Abramovay's proposal for the role of territories as the nexus for enterprise development and poverty reduction is rooted in a discussion of the contemporary debate in Brazil on strategies and mechanisms for poverty reduction. Mirroring global debate, one of the principal currents in Brazil centres on the role of technology and enterprise led economic growth, particularly in high value and export-oriented sectors in generating wider benefits (in terms of employment, wage levels and trickle-down effects) and increased potential for investments in social protection through the pensions system and education. The alternative approach centres on the scope for directing redistributive investments towards the poor to enhance their productive and livelihood opportunities, a perspective in which territorial networks and relationships play a potentially key role in strengthening both economic inclusion of the poor and social control over development processes.

An implicit commitment shared by all the authors discussed here is to inclusive or pro-poor approaches to economic growth whereby territorial approaches provide a strategy for strengthening equity and participation of the poor in consensus based rural development, and enabling access to skills, markets and productivity enhancing technologies.

According to De Janvry (2003) RTD is relevant to poverty reduction as encapsulated in the MDGs because it has potential to locate economic growth, employment, and their benefits in rural areas centred on secondary cities, and to improve the quality of rural investments. RTD focussing on supra-municipal units has potential to create new economic options and enable integrated promotion of the totality of activities within a particular region, as opposed to simple decentralisation which can only achieve the administrative direction of public spending at municipal level. Poverty reduction is likely to be greater in areas with higher levels of off-farm employment, which varies according to urbanisation and agricultural potential, and territorial approaches have the potential to cluster together urban and low and high potential rural areas, and to stimulate increased agricultural productivity and creation of related off-farm jobs.

5.8 Uptake of territorial approaches by international agencies and governments in Latin America

The concept of territorial development has gained increasing emphasis in the policies and strategies of international agencies, especially, but not only, in relation to Latin America.

- IICA: the Inter-American Institute for Cooperation has been a principal proponent, originating a number of recent key texts (Sepulveda et al 2003, IICA 2003) on the subject. IICA developed the concept of "nueva ruralidad" and methodologies for

territorial diagnosis and planning in response to this new reality, and supports the reformulation of rural development strategy in a variety of Latin American countries.

- IADB interest is reflected in its commissioning of key papers on the theme (notably Schejtman and Berdegue 2003), an ongoing consultation process on its rural development strategy, and an emphasis on the needs for a new approach to rural development, and convergent strategies by international agencies, integrating questions of competitiveness and economic growth, modernisation of the state, social development and poverty reduction, regional integration, and environment.

- World Bank in its strategy for rural development in Latin America focuses on "rural space" and "regional development", but proposes a territorial perspective in order to overcome the traditional division between the rural and the urban and to "achieve better integration of production chains, labour and financial markets, the supply of basic infrastructure and services, and sustainable natural resource management". Complementary World Bank approaches include promoting the competitive performance of markets, a focus on human development, and promotion of risk management and social protection networks. While this remains an analytical perspective, intended to underpin and inform Bank operations on the continent, a territorial perspective is not yet directly evident in its lending. However the World Bank Institute is actively promoting the concept.

The uptake and application of territorial development approaches by a number of Latin American countries is summarised in the table overleaf.

In the following section we go on to consider the development of rural territorial development and reflect on the its potential in the context of changing approaches to land access and land reform in Brazil, the Latin American focus country of this research.

Latin American country experiences in Rural Territorial Development

Mexico: Creation of the Law for Sustainable Rural Development in December 2001 sets out the institutional basis for sustainable development. A key element has been the creation of Rural Development Districts responsible for the formulation of municipal, regional or watershed level programmes with the participation of local authorities, inhabitants and producers and consistent with Sectoral Programmes and the National Plan for Development. The body of highest authority of the rural development district is collegiate with participation from three levels of government (central, state and municipal), combined with representatives of producers and of social or private organisations from the territory. These rural development districts form the basis for the implementation of programmes using an integrated, territorial approach. Complementary initiatives include the following: National Agreement for the Countryside (following stakeholder dialogue specific themes were identified such as immediate action, international commerce, rural economic and social development, legal modifications, institution strengthening); Development of economic budgetary instruments (e.g. direct support for the countryside programme, training/technical support for enterprise, tariffs and fixed prices for livestock sector and grain/coffee producers, rural finance systems etc); Development and social wellbeing/inclusion budgetary instruments.

Colombia: The process of decentralisation prior to 1991 focused on the creation of laws pertaining to financial, administrative and political decentralisation. The National Political Constitution established the facilitation of popular participation in decision-making and in economic life as a key objective of the state. Post-1991 the emphasis shifted to territorial planning with the creation of bodies focused on rural development and aimed at facilitating participatory democracy – the Municipal Councils for Rural Development or *'los Consejos Muncipales de Desarrollo Rural – CMDR* (1993)*'.* The process is still evolving, and these bodies have now been established in the majority of municipalities, and communities have been keen to participate, however gaps include: Weak public participation in creation of municipal development plans, of territorial planning etc. Weakness in participatory element of rural development programmes with municipal authorities have greater weight in decision-making over investments; Discontinuities between policies and local plans which later administrations cannot resolve; Weaknesses of monitoring and evaluation system (e.g. lack of attention in design, lack of information, risks in criticizing the actions of powerful interests etc). Also problems with the convocation of the CMDR due to a lack of public awareness and political will, as well as weak community organisation, lack of training of participants etc.

Ecuador: Recent creation of the National System for Rural Development or *'Sistema Nacional de desarrollo Rural (SINADER),* with the objective of generating an institutional platform with the participation of public bodies and civil society for informing food security and rural development policies in order to overcome previous limitations in institutional configurations for promoting rural development. Specific objectives include: strengthening coordination and cooperation between international, national, public, private, regional or local bodies related to food security and rural development issues; to provide continuity and institutional sustainability to the rural dialogue initiated via fora on a range of topics (e.g. State Rural Development Policies, Agriculture, Rural development); to promote decentralisation and participation processes via the establishment of Regional Roundtables on priority themes of common interest.

Chile: Creation of state bodies to promote the competitiveness of Chilean rural enterprises. These *Centros de Gestion (CEGES)'* provide services for and demanded by producers to improve the business management skills of members and to increasing the yields of their enterprises. In 2003 the government co-financed 25 pilots of which 18 are still operating, of which 8 relate to agricultural businesses (752 users) and 10 linked to farmer association enterprises (7770 users). The CEGES obtain and process information that is relevant to producers to enable them to make better decisions, and to help them optimize their individual and associative technical, economic and financial functioning. The CEGES also contribute to strategic reviews of the agricultural sector contributing perspectives of producers. An early example in Paillaco, has led to the development of a non-profit organsiation directed and managed by farmers themselves.

Bolivia: In 1994 the Law of Popular Participation was created – part of the process of decentralising functions to municipalities. However, this new institutional framework has not been consolidated with the large majority of municipalities lacking sufficient capacity, not having an urban centre of any significant size and being essentially rural in character. The poorest municipalities are those that are most remote. Because of this a whole range of programmes have been developed aimed at rural development and poverty reduction, and many of which seek to reduce poverty via development of rural production and via small producers.

Honduras: Following integrated rural development projects of the 1970s focused on small scale independent producers, in the second half of the 1980s the approach shifted to a rural development strategy with an objective of raising wellbeing through increased economic growth and improved distribution of income and wealth in a framework of strengthening democracy and peace. Recently, the Agricultural Plan for Development of the Countryside has proposed short, medium and long-term strategies to lay the foundations for achieving sustainable rural and agricultural development, improved food security and improved wellbeing levels. In August 2000 the Law for Sustainable Rural Development was passed and a National Programme for Sustainable Rural Development or *'Programa Nacional de Desarrollo Rural Sostenible' (PRONADERS)*, forming the basis of a new multi-sectoral approach to rural development, oriented to human development and sustainable natural resource use. The key objective of PRONADERS is to improve quality of life levels in rural communities though human, social, environmental and production development based on management by and participation of communities and incorporating sustainable natural resource management. PRONADERS fits under the Master Plan for National Reconstruction and Transformation and the Poverty Reduction Strategy. The Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock is responsible for promoting agricultural production but also action related to rural development under PRONADERS. The Poverty Reduction Strategy identifies PRONADER as responsible for leading action to combat rural poverty. The Honduranean Agricultural Roundtable is another component which strengthens the mandate of PRONADERS, as it facilitates negotiations between diverse private and public actors and facilitates the delineation of demands for the public sector in policies relating to rural development, family agriculture, reactivation of agricultural production and support for other activities in the agrofood chain. Representatives from the roundtable include those of ethnic groups, international organisations and representatives from the sector under reform. At the national level the State Social Policy has been revised following PRONADERS to include a priority for the reactivation of production and increase of household incomes through strategies of intensification, decentralisation, articulation of supply, inter-institutional coordination and complementarity.

Summarised from Sepulveda et al, p22, 2003)

5.9 Background to rural territorial development in Brazil

As elsewhere in Latin America, over the last decade or so a number of initiatives have emerged which move approaches to rural development in a more cross sectoral, inter-municipal and territorial direction.

This tendency can be understood with reference to emerging patterns of demographic and urban-rural change affecting rural areas. Recent statistics (IBGE etc) reveal that Brazil is less urbanised than might be expected, and population growth has been more evenly distributed between major cities and rural areas, and in many regions, small rural towns are becoming a focus of demographic growth. A significant number of rural municipalities population densities are growing, and in nearly all micro-regions certain municipalities are beginning to attract inward migration. This population growth is a function of dynamic economic growth is occurring in over 50% of the more urbanised rural municipalities and around 25% of rural municipalities. In

contrast, population decreases and out-migration to major urban centres occurs in rural municipalities which fail to diversify the local economy to absorb surplus labour, often accompanied by growing specialisation and productivity increases in specific sectors and commodities such as soya. The retentive capacity of other areas appears to depend on a critical mass of people and market linkages across contiguous municipalities, which permits a degree of innovation, improvisation and diversification. In this context the logical development strategy is to maximise growth of dynamic areas and minimise the stagnation of less dynamic places (de Viega 2002).

The distinguishing feature of the more successful municipalities appears to lie in their ability to make use of Federal government social investment programmes, in health education and infrastructure, as well as in improving access to land and housing, and in certain cases pro-active policies favouring rural diversification and the emergence of small business, especially in the service sector. A significant number of these municipalities concentrated in the poor, semi-arid Northeast, traditionally the major source of urban migration in Brazil, where field research has identified the dynamic role of local government as a critical factor and a tendency for urban migrants to use the family home as a rearguard base for livelihood diversification, returning with skills, qualifications and savings to invest in small business or professional work (de Veiga 2002).

In practice however the proactive role of individual rural municipalities cannot go far in counterbalancing the growth of major cities and the more urbanised municipalities unless concerted efforts are made to coordinate action across rural areas and including local urban centres, so as to enable proper diagnosis, planning, division of labour, capture of resources and development of more integrated operational capacity. In this context numerous initiatives have emerged across Brazil with a territorial dimension including inter-municipal consortia, associations and fora, to tackle sectoral and wider development coordination. Nevertheless the policy environment as a whole has continued to favour sectoralised planning and an approach to decentralised development planning based on micro-municipalities, where Federal and international programmes such as those of the World Bank, have fostered the emergence of innumerable municipal councils dealing with health education, environment, rural development, tourism, social welfare, transport etc. While the results have sometimes been impressive in terms of achieving greater local participation, the municipalities prioritised for poverty reduction and e.g. improvement of rural infrastructure, are precisely those with least capacity and resources to rise to the challenge of effective implementation. Moreover, they have been required to compete in developing proposals based on very local, and often politically led, priorities for investment at the very local scale of scarce resources which could be better used to meet shared needs for economic development across wider areas.

Accordingly de Veiga proposes accordingly, not simply more resource transfers to an additional inter-municipal level of local government, but a contractual relationship whereby Federal, State and Municipal government the former facilitate the development of coordinated approaches and proposals involving groups of contiguous municipalities, which all play their part in implementing the best proposals within an agreed territorial framework. Such a "territorial development contract" can then become an instrument for negotiation and adjustment amongst the diverse local

development visions and interest groups. In order to succeed, however such a territorial development programme would need to be linked to a wider cross –sectoral regional development strategy in which enables the identification of territorial development tendencies and priorities.

To a degree such an approach has already begun to emerge, in which state governments such as that of Bahia encourage a variety of sectoral and regional development initiatives involving groups of municipalities managed through state government and regional development agencies. These have been surveyed and assessed by the Bahia state government (Athayde Filho 2004) to develop "a planning instrument whose starting point is not on municipal government but a supra-municipal political project founded on a process of social legitimation", revealing that top down regional planners are showing as much interest in a territorial approach as are civil society organisations and social movements. In practice however, the territorial projects emerging from civil society, which has traditionally organised along cross municipal lines (for instance through church dioceses and land reform action areas and at ecosystem wide levels) find opportunities to extend social participation in development partnerships though state-initiated territorial approach. According to the Bahia State Government's assessment the idea of territory can essentially be regarded as "a political project, resulting from the aggregated interests of different segments of society". "Territory" which results from human action and involves economic, social and political aspects, is distinct from "space" which is independent of social activity. In practice a diverse range of projects fit within this definition, including those with a well defined historical trajectory of institutional coordination (considered "consolidated territories") and some sort of enduring territorial institution or established mechanisms for networking and joint action across sectoral and municipal institutions and other incipient projects where institutional linkages and structures are more tenuous and dispersed, yet to achieve any real joint impact ("emergent territories"). To be considered territorial, projects should extend beyond single municipalities, and not be restricted to a single set of activities. Although territorial planning seeks consensus, in practice the interests of certain groups tend to predominate, so that the each territorial project considered presents unique characteristics with different social, economic, environmental and cultural impacts. (Athayde Filho 2004).

The assessment identifies a hierarchy of territorial projects classifies as priority, potential and non-potential, according to a set of criteria, as a basis for the allocation and cross –sectoral coordination of state government actions: the territorial project should exhibit social, political, economic and environmental sustainability; territorial institutions should prioritise support to the most vulnerable social groups; actions should and focus on the most depressed municipalities; and consistency amongst the current and planned future activities of the territorial project.

The impetus behind this approach by the state government lies in part in a wish to prepare the ground for implementation of the nationwide Brazilian territorial development initiative launched by the Ministry for Agrarian Development (MDA) to extend collaboration across government and with civil society in tackling rural development problems at territorial scale (discussed in the next section), so as to strengthen impacts on local and regional economies by link it to ongoing territorial development processes.

5.10 Land access, agrarian development and institutional change in Brazil

Recognising the need to integrate continuing efforts for land reform in a sustainable economic, institutional and social context, Brazil is now developing a territorial approach to agrarian development and reform. In 2003, under the newly elected Lula government, the Ministry for Agrarian Development (MDA) created the Secretariat for Territorial Development (SDT) charged with developing and implementing a territorial approach, initially by coordinating the Ministry's own programmes, while gradually extending horizontal coordination with SDT's mission includes the reorganisation of the existing sustainable rural development councils, at federal, state and municipal level, strengthening their cross sectoral character and deepening participation by strengthening the representation of land reform and other social movements and NGOs. At federal level MDA / SDT work with other key Ministries which share their strategic territorial vision, notably, MDS (Ministry of Social Development, which has now subsumed the *Fome Zero* food security programme) MMA (Ministry for Environment) and MINTEGRA (Ministry of National Integration).

The objective is to link public policies more effectively with social demand. Key elements ands methods are set out in strategy documents developed during 2003. NEAD (2003), discussing the difficulties faced by the poorest rural territories, suffering high rates of illiteracy, social exclusion, out-migration and break down the reconstruction of human capital through investment in education, health and employment, with asocial and cultural mobilisation and institutional development to strengthen social capital, political renewal to improve public policies, and technological innovation and diffusion of knowledge to enable economic diversification based on better use of natural resources and protection of the environment. Given the extent of land concentration, and the historical marginalisation of smallholder production which has occurred in the poorest areas of Brazil, land reform is a fundamental strategy for expanding family farming and for poverty reduction, for the landless and to extend land access for those without sufficient land. Land reform needs to be adapted to different circumstances, and linked to provision of credit and support services[3] for family farming as a whole. In practice the programme involves bringing together land reform and agrarian development programmes, and linking these with strategic provision of infrastructure and other services at the territorial level. The territorial focus needs to begin to alter a historical concentration on specific economic and social sectors perceived as most likely to respond in terms of increases in aggregate economic growth, and approach which has compounded social exclusion. In addition to overcoming their narrow sectoral focus, the decentralised planning of public investments in economic and social infrastructure needs to become more transparent and accountable.

While the first step for MDA is to coordinate its own programmes (agrarian reform, other land access programmes, credit and support to family farming and rural food security) SDT's mission is also to bring about better articulation of supply and

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[3] NEAD notes that in 2002 only 15% of land owning families had access to credit

demand for other public services necessary for rural development. SDT's preliminary strategy involves learning, creation of partnerships, awareness raising, mobilisation and capacity building so as to gradually assume a territorial approach in MDA's own programmes, while stimulating other sectors managing rural development programmes to do the same. NEAD finds that it is no coincidence that a variety of practical projects for rural development have emerged to take similar perspectives in recent years, and proposes that MDA should learn from these and support them, building on results obtained and institutional arrangements developed. Ultimately the aim is to coordinate MDA's policies with others so as to harmonise initiatives at federal, state and municipal level, and with popular demand and civil society at territorial level.

In practice one of the major issues which MDA and its collaborators in government and civil society seek to address is the party-politicisation of planning at local level, whereby scarce resources in remote and impoverished rural areas have become increasingly controlled by (frequently conservative) municipal prefects who use them paternalistically to generate political support in electoral campaigns.

6. Conclusion: Territorial Development as a response to regional inequalities, globalisation and its differential spatial impacts

Arising from the emphasis of LED in building the competitiveness of local economies, territorial development approaches, in transposing this emphasis to wider rural, or mixed rural - urban areas, offers a strategic perspective in building developmental responses to globalisation.

Globalisation can be defined (Torres 2001) as 'a process of rapid economic integration among countries driven the liberalization of trade, investment and capital flows, as well as technological change." In comparison with previous episodes of economic history, the current phase of globalisation "involves enterprises and workers of nearly all of the world's countries, in the goods as well as in the services sector…..the majority of the world's labour force is experiencing the effects of international competition, whereas in the past usually only industrial workers were at the receiving end' (ibid).

According to LEADER (2001), a major EU programme delivering support to disadvantaged areas of Europe in the context of global market integration, globalisation processes involve changes in four main dimensions
- technological (notably transport and ICT)
- economic (changes in production and intensification of international exchanges)
- financial (global movement of capital)
- political, including the development of international agreements), market liberalisation, environmental protection, social standards, and weakening of the central state.

In the standard view of globalisation, the opportunities for poor countries and poor people to benefit from the increasing global integration of markets lie primarily in increasing export-oriented production and supplies of services to meet global market

demand and in the provision and export of labour. Whilst there are undoubtedly benefits from globalisation processes, these tend to be captured or experienced by richer groups and elites. 'Rapid globalisation is not bringing the expected prosperity to the world's poorest people' (Curtis, 2001). Poor countries depend more on world trade than richer countries, but at the same time their relative share of world trade is decreasing.

The impacts of globalisation across developing countries are uneven, according to the resource potential (in producing goods and services in demand) and degree of integration of different regions (as a function of the organisation of trade and enterprise, economic infrastructure and geographical position) into global markets. The benefits will be dependent on continuity of market demand for the goods and services in question, and subject to competition from other countries and regions, and not necessarily sustainable. Moreover, while the geographical and historical spread of benefits of servicing global markets is uneven, it will also be socially uneven, according to the opportunities of different groups to access jobs, skills, land and resources.

Globalisation processes are creating new opportunities for social networking and coordination but are also contributing to increased global inequality. Many of the new opportunities created by globalisation are only accessible to the already rich and powerful with the more vulnerable and marginalised becoming increasingly excluded. (Afshar and Barrientos 1999). Considering the gender implications of globalisation, these authors argue that 'changes in the global political economy since the 1980s have had a dramatic effect on the lives of women, who have become increasingly integrated as players in the world's production and consumption processes…The effects have been multiple and contradictory, inclusionary and exclusionary' Much of the debate on globalisation has tended to ignore the diversity of outcomes and responses of marginalised groups, ethnic minorities and women, as well as the impacts on major creeds and cultures, particularly in developing countries.

While critique and analysis of globalisation often emphasises the need for a countervailing localism (e.g. IIED 2003….), the plea for a focus on local development, based on individual communities, villages or micro-regions, or the generality of "peasant farmers" or "rural people" is generally devoid of concrete analysis of how the global impinges on the local, empowering or disempowering the poor in practice through stimulating different forms of economic development (Hart 2002, see section 4.1 below).

By contrast a territorial perspective permits analysis of the dynamic impacts of globalisation on different specific areas or regions, according to their economic linkages, flows of investment, history, resources, constraints and advantages, resulting in specific historical trajectories broadly conditioning territorial development opportunities and options. Territorial analysis also involves attention to the relationships, power relations and access to resources, market networks and institutions of different social and stakeholder groups, necessary to understand the distributional impacts of globalisation and the opportunities for equity improvement.

How does globalisation, in practice, impact on rural areas, and what are the threats and opportunities created by globalising trends? One of the major Territorial

Development programmes to date, the LEADER programme, which provides support to disadvantaged regions throughout Europe, (discussed further below in section 2.5) has analysed the effects and implications of globalisation for rural territories and implications based on its own experiences detailed here in Box 5.

Box 5. Globalisation's impact on rural territories – summary from the *LEADER* programme

- Opening up new spaces for trade and communication, by decreasing certain barriers (e.g. between the supply and demand of products and services, particularly reducing legal obstacles, and problems of distance and rapidity of access).
- Creating new opportunities for the commercialisation of specific products for rural areas, by overcoming some difficulties relating to isolation and distance. For example the sale of agricultural or regional products (particularly by internet and when producers associate) can become much easier as new short cuts and possibilities for avoiding middlemen arise.
- Presenting a threat to rural areas, because many of the barriers now being torn down were precisely those that previously protected the 'local' element of many products and their 'artisanal' and 'cultural' identity. The ability of more powerful groups to dominate various communication media also means that fragmented offers from smaller groups are under threat.
- New opportunities emerging for the expression of new forms of solidarity, cultural exchange and transfers of knowledge – tools that can be turned to advantage in terms of revitalisation of collective action in rural areas (e.g. constructing solidarity networks and complementarities between territories, learning and exchanging experiences, etc)
- Possibilities for the convergence of distant voices with similar views (e.g. relating to environmental degradation, human rights issues etc), and thus for new expressions of citizenship/institutions and for new spaces for dialogue (e.g. between state and NGOs).
- Highlighting the need to reaffirm the importance of the local dimension in the evolution of responses to the transformations of the market and of relations and forms of expression of citizenship. Globalisation does not mean the end of 'local' by any means, because of the opportunities already mentioned, but it does present major challenges for rural areas. Develop tools of integration, such as real and virtual networks, to reaffirm relevant elements of proximity, to be understood worldwide as promoters of products of guaranteed quality etc.

(source Leader, p12-15)

While relatively privileged regions and groups may enjoy fairly direct access to the opportunities created by global markets, in responding to globalised market development more proactive strategies are needed in order to ensure the creation and capture of benefits for more isolated, resource poor areas and socially excluded groups. Territorial development places at its centre (with differing emphases in different practical initiatives) a series of inter-related priority concerns which provide the basis for the strategic development of rural areas, situated in the wider, dynamic global and regional context. These elements may provide a basis for finding practical ways forwards for otherwise abstract and idealised calls for a new localism:

- development of territorial competitiveness and comparative advantage in responding to global and regional markets based on distinctive resource potential or cultural features;
- fostering endogenous development and self reliance by drawing on local resources capacity in responding to local demand, especially the higher levels of demand that may result from the territory's regional and global market integration;
- strengthen territorial resilience integration through diversification of production into new, non-farm areas including economic use of natural

resources (for instance in wildlife or forest products and in eco-tourism) and in local value added creating distinctive local products (such as cheeses, dried meats and craft work);

- fostering social capital, solidarity, consensus and compromise through creation of negotiation and planning fora with representation of marginalised groups for stakeholder, and promotion of partnerships whereby the socially excluded can gain access to the benefits of wider markets;
- aligning local government planning and programmes with economic development opportunities based on market development within and between territories and integrated with wider regional change and empowering appropriate, territorial level institutions with decision making power on priority infrastructure and development projects;
- pressure and influence on national government programmes to respond to local priorities, and harmonise better with one another and with territorial scale planning;
- training programmes to skill and equipping the local population, notably the unemployed, youth, women and the landless to take advantage of opportunities arising from territorial integration into wider markets.

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