

# TRANSPARENCY FOR WHOM?

GROUNDING LAND INVESTMENT TRANSPARENCY IN THE NEEDS OF LOCAL ACTORS

**REPORT** MARCH 2021



### TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	
PART I. FRAMING	
How can transparency improve the governance and account	tability of land investments?
The problem	
The relevance of politics and power	
Grounding transparency in community perspectives Report overview	
What is land investment transparency?	
The definition: disclosure, access, comprehension, use, ar	
Government duties concerning transparency	
The business case for transparency	1
The actors: communities, allies, and gatekeepers	
PART II. LAND INVESTMENT TRANSPARENCY FOR COM	MUNITIES AND THEIR ALLIES 1
Information disclosure	
Information access	
Information comprehension	
Open processes and information use	
PART III. GATEKEEPER INCENTIVES REGARDING TRANS	SPARENCY 1
Host governments	
Companies	
Lenders and equity investors	i
PART IV. WHAT RISKS CAN LAND INVESTMENT TRANSP	PARENCY INTRODUCE? 2
Risks of land loss	2
Risks to community members	2
PART V. CHALLENGES EXPERIENCED BY COMMUNITIES	S AND THEIR ALLIES 2
Disclosure challenges	
Information is not disclosed early enough	
Some information is never disclosed	
A lack of proactive disclosure puts burdens on communiti	
Disclosed information may be inaccurate, as part of "infor	rmation wars" 2

### TABLE OF CONTENTS

Access challenges Information, when disclosed, often remains inaccessible Decision-makers are inaccessible	<b>23</b> 23 23
Comprehension challenges Communities often start with a low understanding of their rights and other legal issues Disclosed information is hard to understand	<b>24</b> 24 24
Information use (and broader governance) challenges Governments privilege company information over community information and make poor decisions Regulators often neglect their mandate Good faith regulators are undermined Communities do not control whether or not a project takes place Information and participation can be used by gatekeepers to dampen pressure for systemic change Existing initiatives privilege elite perspectives, rarely meeting community needs	24 24 25 25 25 25
PART VI. RESPONDING TO THE CHALLENGES: STRATEGIES TO ADVANCE MORE EFFECTIVE LAND INVESTMENT TRANSPARENCY	28
<ol> <li>Driving agendas with community-led processes</li> <li>Increasing technical support for communities</li> <li>Empowering good faith regulators</li> <li>Implementing multi-stakeholder and participatory processes</li> <li>Factoring community-generated information into investment-related decisions</li> <li>Initiating domestic mechanisms to increase public access to information</li> <li>Extending community participation beyond projects to the policy level</li> </ol>	29 29 30 30 31 32 32
PART VII. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS	34
METHODOLOGY ANNEX: WHAT INFORMATION IS NEEDED?	37 38 40

### LIST OF BOXES & FIGURES

<b>BOX 1</b> The elements of land investment transparency explained	10
<b>BOX 2</b> The Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative	26
BOX 3 The EU Forest Law Enforcement, Governance and Trade (FLEGT) program	27
FIGURE 1 The elements of land investment transparency	11
<b>FIGURE 2</b> How each strategy can help advance land investment transparency	33

### WHO IS THIS REPORT FOR?

This report is for donors, global policy makers, and civil society actors concerned with "land investments," which are defined as agriculture, forestry, wind and solar energy, and similar projects. In particular, it is for such actors who seek to improve the governance and accountability of land investments, protect and bolster the rights of project-affected communities, and enhance development outcomes linked to land investments. For actors already working on advancing transparency of land investments, this report offers new insights for achieving transformative change.

#### Acronym Glossary

CCSI - Columbia Center on Sustainable Investment DFI - Development Finance Institution EITI - Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative FLEGT - Forest Law Enforcement, Governance and Trade program FPIC - Free, Prior and Informed Consent IFC - International Finance Corporation LIT - Land Investment Transparency OPIC - Overseas Private Investment Corporation RSPO - Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil VPA - Voluntary Partnership Agreement



#### Acknowledgments

This report was primarily written by Sam Szoke-Burke, with Box 2 being written by Tehtena Mebratu-Tsegaye and Box 3 by William Sommer and Sam Szoke-Burke.

Kaitlin Y. Cordes provided editorial and project support.

Research was conducted by Sam Szoke-Burke, Tehtena Mebratu-Tsegaye, William Sommer, Julia Chen, David Bassini Ortiz, and Kimberly Mejía-Cuéllar. Additional research support was provided by Alexandra Carruthers, Yardenne Kagan, Shannon Marcoux, Nami Patel, and Nadeeya Salleh.

We extend a deep expression of gratitude to Samuel Nguiffo, Stella Tchoukep, Lydienne Kala Epee, and Armelle Olinga Andela at the Centre pour l'Environnement et le Développement and to Francis Colee, Simpson Snoh, and John Nimly Brownell from Green Advocates International, without whom our country research in Cameroon and Liberia, respectively, and hence many insights contained in this report, would not have been possible. We also sincerely thank all of the individuals who were interviewed for this report.

We also extend a heartfelt thanks to the members of this project's expert advisory group for invaluable advice and support. Thanks also to Solina Kennedy and Asatta Mesa for their assistance with the conduct of advisory group meetings, and to Gabriel McCormick for her assistance with endnote formatting.

We are deeply grateful to Joan Carling, Lorenzo Cotula, Adrian Di Giovanni, Erin Kitchell, Megan MacInnes, and Chris Penrose Buckley for their immensely valuable peer reviews of an earlier version of this report. We also offer our warm thanks to Sophia Carodenuto and Constance McDermott for generously reviewing earlier drafts of Box 3, to Ishita Petkar, who helpfully reviewed the Annex, and to Leila Kazemi and Brendan Schwartz for valuable guidance on aspects of the report.

**Suggested citation:** Szoke-Burke, S., Mebratu-Tsegaye, T., and Sommer, W., *Transparency for whom? Grounding land investment transparency in the needs of local actors*, Columbia Center on Sustainable Investment (March, 2021).



This research was funded with UK aid from the UK government; however, the views expressed do not necessarily reflect the UK government's official policies.

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# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

How can transparency improve the governance and accountability of "land investments," such as agriculture, forestry, wind and solar energy, and similar projects?

Land investments have long been characterized by poor governance and accountability, which is often exacerbated by inadequate information sharing and the exclusion of communities from decisions that will affect them. The Covid-19 crisis amplified these challenges. Governments fast tracked project approvals to the exclusion of communities and intensified criminalization and persecution of rights defenders. Reductions in government monitoring of investments were accompanied by opportunistic regulatory rollbacks. Opaque actions taken during the fog of the pandemic will have long-term implications, including an increased risk of social conflict, imperiling recovery efforts and even increasing the risk of governmental collapse.

Transparency is often seen as a means of improving governance and accountability. But its transformative potential can be hindered by vagueness concerning how "transparency" is defined and who it is intended to serve. Transparency is too often used interchangeably—and erroneously—with "disclosure," effectively protecting powerful actors from changes in the status quo. Existing transparency and governance initiatives also fall short on meeting communities' transparency needs, precisely because such initiatives focus on other beneficiaries, such as commodity buyers or international civil society actors.

This report seeks to re-orient conceptions of transparency in ways that can lead to more transformative impacts particularly for local rights holders—in the governance of land. Reorienting understandings of what land investment transparency means can also benefit governments, companies, and other actors by enabling them to more effectively manage operational risk linked to social conflict and community opposition.

#### THE DEFINITION

"Land investment transparency" (LIT) is public disclosure of relevant land investment-related information, as well as the ability of people to access, understand, and use that information. LIT entails an ecosystem of open systems and processes, in which project-affected community members can participate and influence decisions that will affect them. These elements can support community members in exercising their rights, anticipating and avoiding negative impacts, resolving grievances, seeking redress, and driving their own development.

Governments have a legal duty to ensure land investment transparency, which is based in the binding norms of international human rights law. In addition, companies and investors have responsibilities to respect human rights, which means that they, too, must work proactively to advance the components of LIT within their control.

#### **RELEVANT ACTORS**

This report divides the actors relevant to land investment transparency into two groups:

1. Project-affected communities and the actors who support them. This group is often sidelined from investment-related decision-making. It includes all community members, not only leaders, and allies such as Indigenous and peasant organizations, civil society organizations, and paralegals and other experts supporting communities. 2. "Gatekeepers." These actors control access to relevant information and how policy and decision-making processes around land investments function. Gatekeepers include host governments, companies carrying out land investments, as well as lenders, equity investors, and other actors in the investment chain.

# CHALLENGES EXPERIENCED BY COMMUNITIES AND THEIR ALLIES

Communities, their allies, and other actors experience a range of challenges, which diminish land investment transparency.

*Disclosures* fall short. Information is usually not disclosed early enough, and some information and documents are never disclosed. A lack of proactive disclosure puts the burden on communities to track down information, exposing them to additional risks and costs. Disclosed information can also be inaccurate, used by gatekeepers as part of "information wars."

**Communities struggle to** *access* **information**. Information, when disclosed by gatekeepers, often does not reach communities. Instead it can remain inaccessible in faraway government buildings or online. Gatekeepers, too, are often inaccessible for community members, limiting communities' ability to obtain key information.

More is needed to enable communities to understand available information. Communities often start with a low understanding of their rights and other technical issues, which can impair their ability to obtain and understand information about proposed projects. When technical information is disclosed, it can remain incomprehensible unless gatekeepers or others take the time to summarize, translate, and convert it into a form that can be understood by community members.

Communities face barriers to using information and to participating in open decision-making processes. One limiting factor to communities' use of information is that investmentrelated decisions are often made behind closed doors, without community participation. In addition, the ability of communities to use information to influence decision-making is regularly undermined by their lack of leverage. This is linked to governments' reluctance to recognize community land rights or their rights to free, prior and informed consent, which would enable communities to influence or control whether or not projects take place and on what terms. Communities are regularly faced with governments that rely on company information to the detriment of community perspectives, and with regulators that often neglect their mandates, thus undermining accountability. Although good faith regulators and other "reformers" within government can help to bolster

community participation in decision-making, those government actors are also frequently undermined by more powerful actors. Less obviously, communities seeking to use information to influence decisions may find that gatekeepers may sometimes cede to community requests for information and participation merely as a strategy to dampen pressure for deeper systemic changes.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS

#### The big picture

Donors, global policy makers, and civil society organizations should:

- Conceive of transparency as extending beyond disclosure, to include community access, comprehension, and use of information in open decision-making processes and governance systems.
- Ground transparency efforts in the needs of communities and other local actors.
- Support or implement transparency efforts that seek to navigate, change, or circumvent political barriers.
- Strategically support or implement transparency programming when it is needed to complement—or to fill voids created by the blockage of—more transformational frameworks for improving the governance and accountability of land investments, such as human rights, access to justice, and the protection of legitimate tenure rights.

#### **Concrete strategies**

Various strategies can be employed to improve aspects of land investment transparency, provided they are adapted to the local context and do not introduce unacceptable risks for communities.<sup>1</sup> Gatekeepers may resist such strategies. Actors who understand gatekeeper incentives<sup>ii</sup> can more effectively: identify appropriate openings for improvement; change the political context to remove barriers imposed by gatekeepers; or circumvent gatekeepers to achieve desired results through other actors or means.

Donors, global policy makers, and civil society organizations can contribute to the effective use of each strategy. In broad terms:

- **Donors** can support the effective implementation of these strategies.
- Global policy makers can underscore when and how international norms support or even require such strategies and can incorporate such strategies in their activities when appropriate.

 Civil society organizations can raise awareness about, support communities to use, and advocate for gatekeeper acceptance of, such strategies.

Strategy 1: Driving agendas with community-led processes, such as autonomous protocols, bylaws or development plans. By using such processes to articulate how decisions should be made concerning their lands, resources, and development, communities can directly grapple with political barriers to increased transparency.

Strategy 2: Increasing technical support for communities. Communities that have access to the support they need can more easily access, understand, and use information to influence decisions and participate in land governance. Strategies to secure private sector funding for independent support can increase the amount of support available to communities.

Strategy 3: Empowering good faith regulators. Communities' ability to access and understand information and influence investment-related decisions can be bolstered when regulators are empowered and incentivized to faithfully carry out their mandates.

**Strategy 4: Implementing multi-stakeholder and participatory processes**. When appropriate, multi-stakeholder dialogues or joint monitoring or fact-finding can create new avenues for communities to obtain relevant information, share their perspectives, and seek to understand and influence decision-makers.

Strategy 5: Factoring community-generated information into investment-related decisions. By generating their own information, communities can break gatekeepers' control over the information upon which decisions are made.

Strategy 6: Initiating domestic mechanisms to increase public access to information. Mechanisms like right-toinformation laws and parliamentary-approval processes can help to increase disclosures and make investment-related decision-making more accountable to rights holders and their representatives.

Strategy 7: Extending community participation beyond individual projects to the policy level. Communities who can influence laws and policies can help systematically improve legal requirements for more effective disclosure and community access, comprehension, and use of information in open decision-making processes.

#### NOTES

ii

- i Risks of increased transparency are discussed at pages 20–21.
  - Gatekeepers incentives are explored at pages 16–19.



Farm worker, Mali. © Shutterstock/Riccardo Mayer.



### HOW CAN TRANSPARENCY IMPROVE THE GOVERNANCE AND ACCOUNTABILITY OF LAND INVESTMENTS?

Transparency is often seen as a means to important ends, such as improving governance and accountability. But its potential to do so can be hindered by vagueness concerning what transparency means and who it is intended to serve. This report therefore seeks to re-orient conceptions of transparency in ways that can lead to more transformative impacts—for local rights holders, and other actors—in the governance of land.

#### The problem

Despite the important efforts behind a raft of court cases, campaigns, and other hardwon commitments for improved land governance, communities continue to be sidelined in the planning and implementation of land investments. Communities also bear the brunt of poorly designed projects, which can place their human rights, livelihoods, and, in many cases, lives, at risk. Excluding communities from investment-related decisionmaking processes not only produces devastating outcomes for communities: it can also result in conflict and other challenges that are extremely damaging for companies, debt and equity investors, and host governments, among others.

The Covid-19 crisis amplified existing dynamics around land investments. It provided an excuse for the fast tracking of project approvals to the exclusion of communities<sup>1</sup> and intensified criminalization and persecution of rights defenders.<sup>2</sup> Reductions in government monitoring of investments<sup>3</sup> were followed by opportunistic rollbacks of important legal protections.<sup>4</sup> Untransparent actions taken during the fog of the pandemic will have long-term implications, including an increased risk of social conflict,<sup>5</sup> imperiling recovery efforts and even increasing the risk of governmental collapse.<sup>6</sup>

#### The relevance of politics and power

The current state of land investment reveals that powerful actors like host governments and companies are often not sufficiently incentivized to meaningfully include communities in decisions affecting them. The problem is in part political. Few actors are willing to cede power. Any attempts to advance transparency must therefore take power seriously. Political barriers to transparency and power imbalances are also inherently linked to broader structural challenges that shape the governance of land investment, which include conflicting visions of development, overlaps in mandates and agendas, skills and resource shortages, other failures to implement existing laws and policies, and continuing threats to human rights and civic space.

#### So how can transparency help?

Framing certain interventions through the lens of transparency may help to dismantle the systemic barriers that prevent local communities from knowledgably participating in the governance of their lands and resources.<sup>7</sup> Transparency is often more accepted by powerful actors than other approaches to improving governance. For instance, calls for governments and companies to respect human rights are often sidelined or ignored. Likewise, calls to recognize and protect communal tenure are regularly subject to intense resistance from elite actors,<sup>8</sup> or to alternative pushes for land privatization.<sup>9</sup> Transparency, on the other hand, is often invoked in processes and interventions when protections for communal land tenure and human rights are notably and regretfully excluded—such as in trade agreements (see Box 3, below), and aid and financing assistance from the Bretton Woods Institutions.<sup>10</sup> This report does *not* advocate for the abandonment of human rights, accountability, or protections of communal tenure in donor and development programming. Instead, it explores how transparency can complement those programmatic focuses where they are likely to be resisted. Transparency is best viewed as one piece of a suite of measures needed to ensure accountable and responsive governance of land and land investments. Such measures also include efforts to bolster the empowerment and agency of local stakeholders, and to hold misbehaving actors to account.<sup>11</sup> Empowered and informed communities, recognized and respected human rights, and open and accountable decision-making systems can in turn improve governance outcomes for all actors.

Yet transparency is too often used interchangeably-and erroneously-with "disclosure." This, too, is often due to political factors. Transparency initiatives may settle for advancing disclosure as the "lowest common denominator" issue to which powerful actors will agree (see Box 2, below).<sup>12</sup> Such actors can respond to popular pressure for transparency by disclosing certain information, but without opening up spaces for communities to pursue substantive changes to how decisions are made.<sup>13</sup> A thin version of "transparency" is thus advanced, while the underlying challenges around power imbalances and a lack of accountability remain unaddressed. Deepening understandings of what land investment transparency means can help unlock its potential for transformative change for investment-affected communities. Such change can also benefit governments and companies who can better avoid or mitigate the considerable costs of community grievances and social conflict.

#### Grounding transparency in community perspectives

Rather than assuming that transparency in itself will help improve governance or accountability,<sup>14</sup> initiators of transparency interventions need to ask the question, "for whom?"<sup>15</sup> When transparency efforts have commodity buyers (see Box 3, below) or international actors (see Box 2, below) as their intended beneficiaries, their potential for enabling communities to better access, understand, and use information in open decision-making processes is reduced. This can also limit the ability of such efforts to bolster rights protections and facilitate sustainable development. This report therefore builds on existing research on the transparency of land-based investment<sup>16</sup> and emerging rights holder-focused approaches<sup>17</sup> to further ground conceptions of transparency in the perspectives of local actors.

Rather than assuming that transparency in itself will help improve governance or accountability, initiators of transparency interventions need to ask the question, "for whom?"

#### **Report overview**

This report draws on desktop research, country research in Cameroon and Liberia, and interviews with communities, civil society, government, the private sector, and development finance institutions (DFIs) from around the world. Insights drawn from interviews are either signposted in the text or referenced with endnotes. More information is included under *Methodology*, page 37, below.

The report starts by defining land investment transparency (LIT), explaining its links to governments' obligations, and outlining how it benefits a range of actors. The report then examines two groups of relevant actors: (1) communities and their civil society allies, and (2) "gatekeepers" to information and decision-making processes (such as host governments, companies, and lenders). In the following section, the report unpacks each element of transparency, namely disclosure, as well as information access, comprehension, and use in open processes. To enable a politically informed understanding of openings for advancing transparency, the report then describes the potential incentives that motivate gatekeepers. The risks of increased transparency are also investigated. The report then sets out a range of transparencyrelated challenges that communities and their allies experience. Next, the report proposes various strategies and approaches that hold the prospect of improving or advancing land investment transparency, before concluding with recommendations for donors, global policy-makers, and civil society organizations.

#### WHAT IS LAND INVESTMENT TRANSPARENCY?

### The definition: disclosure, access, comprehension, use, and open processes

"Land investment transparency" (LIT) is public disclosure of relevant land investment-related information, as well as the ability of people to access, understand, and use that information.<sup>18</sup> LIT therefore entails an ecosystem of open systems and processes, in which project-affected community members can participate and influence decisions that will affect them. These elements can support community members in exercising their rights, anticipating and avoiding negative impacts, resolving grievances, seeking redress for negative impacts suffered or rights violated, and, ultimately, more effectively pursuing their own vision of sustainable development.<sup>19</sup>

#### Government duties concerning transparency

Governments have a legal duty to ensure land investment transparency, which is based in the binding norms of international human rights law.<sup>20</sup> LIT is grounded in various human rights,<sup>21</sup> including the freedom to seek and receive information,<sup>22</sup> the right to take part in public affairs,<sup>23</sup> and the right to an effective remedy.<sup>24</sup> Other human rights that serve as bases for LIT include human rights to property and resources,<sup>25</sup> development,<sup>26</sup> culture,<sup>27</sup> health,<sup>28</sup> a healthy environment,<sup>29</sup> and food,<sup>30</sup> as well as the international rights of Indigenous and tribal peoples.<sup>31</sup>

#### BOX 1: THE ELEMENTS OF LAND INVESTMENT TRANSPARENCY EXPLAINED

- **Public disclosure** refers to the sharing of all relevant information with rights holders and the public at large through a variety of media.
- Access refers to the ability of communities and other actors to safely obtain the relevant information. It includes measures that bridge the gulf that can exist between remote communities, on the one hand, and information holders and repositories, on the other.
- **Understanding** information entails the information being shared or converted into a comprehensible format for rights holders, including being translated to local languages and appropriate complexity levels, and otherwise adjusted to local contexts and cultures. It also means having sufficient time and technical support to digest both the information and the broader context of rights, processes, and drivers for the investment.
- Information use and open systems and processes are inherently linked. Communities who are informed and able to access relevant decision-making processes and other governance systems before decisions are made have the best chances of effectively participating in and influencing them. Such processes include investment planning and project authorization processes, government systems for monitoring and enforcement, and the resolution of community grievances. Other relevant systems include those driving the development of public policies and laws, right-to-information processes, and justice systems.



The legal obligations linked to those human rights mean that governments have duties to proactively advance transparency. Advancing transparency should thus be seen as a core component of government agencies' mandates. Poor government performance on transparency is not, then, simply unfortunate, but rather a dereliction of legal obligations. In addition, company and investor responsibilities to respect human rights mean that they too must work proactively to advance the components of LIT within their control.

#### The business case for transparency

While LIT clarifies various obligations and responsibilities for governments, companies, and other actors—for instance, concerning disclosure and participatory decision-making—it can also produce advantageous outcomes for them. When communities are informed and participate in decisions as empowered counter-parties, companies can better understand local perspectives and circumstances and more effectively manage risks of rights violations, costly local conflict, and associated project delays and failure.<sup>32</sup> Lenders and equity investors also benefit from such outcomes, which minimize their financial, legal, and reputational risks. For governments, these outcomes minimize the risks of adverse legal claims from investors, tarnished national reputations as an investment destination, and the undermining of the government's political legitimacy among its constituents and institutional partners. LIT can improve operational outcomes for governments, as well: it can strengthen intra-governmental coordination and knowledge sharing, which in turn can enhance decisions, policy making, and performance of public mandates. LIT can also help governments with environmental stewardship: for instance, recent research reveals correlations between prior consultation requirements and reduced rates of deforestation.<sup>33</sup>

#### THE ACTORS: COMMUNITIES, ALLIES, AND GATEKEEPERS

This report divides the actors relevant to land investment transparency into two groups. The first group is project-affected communities and the actors who support them. This group is often sidelined from investment-related decision-making, and communities left to suffer the negative impacts afterwards. The second, "gatekeepers," are the actors that control access to relevant information and how policy and decision-making processes around land investments function.<sup>34</sup> They often

control the degree to which communities can knowledgably participate in decisions, and may actively or inadvertently restrict opportunities for systemic change.

#### Communities and their allies

"Communities affected by land investments" include formal community representatives such as chiefs and elders, as well as all other community members, including groups like women, youth, people with disabilities, Indigenous peoples, and minority ethnic groups. This includes communities and community members who have legitimate tenure rights over lands and resources, as well as all community members whose human rights are, or stand to be, affected by land investment projects. The unique transparency needs of community groups such as workers linked to land investment projects<sup>35</sup> and small-scale producers who sell commodities to companies are outside the scope of this report.<sup>36</sup>

**Community allies** are those who support project-affected communities. Allies may accompany or provide technical support to communities from the earliest stages of project proposal right through to pursuing justice or redress for rights violations and negative impacts. Allies can also include those advocating on project-affected communities' behalf in broader policy contexts. Allies therefore include: Indigenous and peasant organizations; social movements; local, regional, national, and international civil society organizations; as well as paralegals, scientists, and other experts providing technical support to communities. Allies can be distinguished from other data intermediaries whose objectives are not necessarily subservient to those of communities, such as journalists and open data initiatives—although there may often be overlap between these two groups.<sup>37</sup>

#### Gatekeepers

The gatekeepers this report focuses on are:

- Host governments, including public entities and actors at local, regional or national levels tasked with attracting, screening, monitoring, and regulating land investments.
- Companies and individuals who carry out land investments.
- Investment chain actors, including lenders to, and equity investors in, land investments. Such actors are diverse, ranging from pension funds, investment funds, and other asset owners, global banks, multilateral and country DFIs, local financial institutions, and impact investors, among many others.

Other gatekeepers who can have influence over the advancement of transparency include **export credit agencies**, which provide insurance against political and other types of non-commercial risk, and **supply chain actors**, including buyers and traders of commodities produced in land investment projects.<sup>38</sup> While not a principal focus of this report, such actors also have the potential to block or advance LIT.

#### Overlap

Each of these groups can occupy the other side of the coin in specific cases: gatekeepers need information, while communities and their allies control access to certain information. Certain individuals may also fall into both groups.

For host governments, companies, and other gatekeepers, compliance with their respective human rights duties and responsibilities will also often depend in part on their ability to access, understand, and use relevant information. Government representatives without relevant information are more likely to make poor decisions and are less able to properly regulate investment. Companies that lack important information are more likely to ignore community perspectives and to make under-informed decisions that lead to mutually disadvantageous outcomes. Although not the focus of this report, insights concerning these actors' information needs—and the importance of their using such information—are also shared.

Communities and their allies can also occupy the space of gatekeepers, especially regarding information generated by the community: see *5. Factoring community-generated information into investment-related decisions*, below.



Maasai community meeting, Tanzania. © Shutterstock/soft\_light

### PART II land investment transparency for communities and their allies

This section unpacks the key elements of land investment transparency: disclosure, access, understanding, and use in open systems and processes.

#### INFORMATION DISCLOSURE

Public disclosure refers to the sharing of information with rights holders and the public at large. Disclosure should usually be public, rather than only to communities and their allies, in order to reinforce broader governance and accountability measures, and also in recognition of the rights of all citizens to information.<sup>39</sup> Governmental duties to disclose come from their international human rights law obligations and often from domestic laws and constitutions. Companies and investment chain actors' responsibilities to respect human rights create responsibilities to disclose; companies may also be required to disclose by host or home government laws and by loan agreement conditions. Investment chain actors may disclose project-related information according to their own right to information or disclosure policies.

For disclosure to have any impact, the information disclosed must be relevant and useful to the intended users of that information.<sup>40</sup> Such information must also be accurate, definitive, and up-to-date, necessitating regular, timely updates. Disclosure should be proactive, to avoid communities and allies investing significant effort and resources into information requests.

Communities and their allies may need a diverse set of documents and types of information in order to protect community rights and knowledgably influence decisions concerning community lands and resources. *A comprehensive list of information and document types is included in the Annex, below.* In summary, communities and allies may need a range of information and documents concerning:

- **Rights and responsibilities** of all relevant actors, relevant decision-making processes, and other elements of legal frameworks.
- The proposed land investment project, including its purpose, location and timespan, and projected potential positive and negative impacts (which may be included in impact assessment reports).
- The company (or companies) carrying out the project.
- Investment chain actors linked to the project.
- **Buyers** of commodities produced by the project and other value chain actors.
- Available avenues for grievance redress.
- The terms of **rents and other transfers** to be made to the community.
- Regular, timely, and meaningfully disaggregated disclosure and **reporting** on company performance and impacts, once the project begins.
- What happens after the project ends, including who ownership of the land reverts to, how resulting damage to the land is repaired and remediated, and what happens to any community "benefit" sharing arrangements.

Communities will usually be especially interested in information about projects or decisions concerning nearby lands and resources.<sup>41</sup> The specific information needs of each community, and members within it, however, will vary depending on their objectives and the strategies they wish to pursue, as well as other context-specific factors.

#### **INFORMATION ACCESS**

The benefits of information disclosure are dramatically reduced if relevant communities cannot easily access that information. To enable meaningful information access, gatekeepers' disclosure strategies should plan for how the information will reach communities.<sup>42</sup> This means moving beyond posting documents online or including copies in distant administrative buildings. Effective strategies for information delivery include meetings, consultations, and dialogue processes with communities, who may need technical assistance in order to know what information to ask for. Enabling anonymous means of obtaining information, such as through radio broadcasts, can also increase information access in repressive or polarized settings. Efforts to ensure access also should be iterative for projects spanning long periods of time, as documents can easily be lost, especially if held by a community leader who passes away or whose formal term ends.43

#### INFORMATION COMPREHENSION

Communities that access disclosed information also need to be able to make sense of it. Enabling community comprehension of information entails converting raw data into information, adjusting it into an understandable form, and facilitating (and funding) access to other institutional supports needed to digest the information, such as technical assistance. In addition, sufficient time should be allowed for the community to digest the information, deliberate internally, and access technical support. A community member's ability to understand information may depend on translation into local languages, having complex information summarized, and adjusting information to cultural and societal contexts. Challenges such as low literacy levels, a lack of previous experience with large-scale investment, and low legal knowledge must also be navigated (for instance, by using audiovisual media) or addressed (for instance, by facilitating independent legal education and empowerment).

Gatekeepers should often bear the onus for enabling community comprehension. This includes demystifying both data and pathways for participation in decisions and redress. Technical documents also require explanation; for instance, a 200-page management plan would need to be summarized and converted into a comprehensible form for community members (while also being disclosed in full for use by the community and its allies). Examples of accessible, user-focused ways for gatekeepers to present complex information include:

- Plain language presentations and dialogue.
- Plain-language document summaries and annotations.<sup>44</sup>
- Visits to other projects that are either run by the company or otherwise comparable.
- Facilitating story sharing from other contexts, such as enabling communities to speak with, or receive video postcards from, other project-affected communities.<sup>45</sup>
- 3D models and before-and-after images of the project's likely impacts on the landscape.<sup>46</sup>

#### **OPEN PROCESSES AND INFORMATION USE**

A crucial element of transparency is the ability of communities, with support from their allies, to use information in order to influence decisions, hold actors to account, and pursue their own vision of development. This element has two parts. First, decision-making and governance systems must be open and accessible to communities. Second, communities must be able to effectively participate in and influence those processes and systems, which entails communities having the information, understanding, and, if needed, technical support to do so. Effective community participation in investmentrelated decision-making and governance should be facilitated throughout the life cycle of an investment, as part of a selfreinforcing loop of communication, participation in decisions, and accountability.

Critical to enabling effective community participation in decision-making is timeliness. Communities too often receive information after important decisions have been made, or are not given enough time to properly digest and respond to information. Key moments for informed community use of information vary depending on factors such as applicable legal frameworks and how the project is financed. Communities need to be able to access information sufficiently in advance of such moments to be able to digest the information and respond accordingly. Some examples of key moments include:

- The adoption of relevant laws and policies concerning land investment.
- The zoning or earmarking of community lands for external investment.
- Initial expressions of interest in that land by potential investors.
- The undertaking of due diligence, impact assessments, and other preparatory studies for a proposed project.

- The negotiation of any agreements (including memoranda of understanding that are then used by companies to obtain finance) and the granting of every relevant authorization or permit.
- The implementation of the project, including any resettlement, compensation, and benefit sharing processes.
- The detection of any negative impacts, rights violations, or community grievances.
- The decision to terminate or wind-down the project.

Yet community action will often not fit neatly into any one moment. Communities will have needs for information and for opportunities to influence decisions throughout the duration of any projects that proceed. Sometimes information use by communities and their allies take place in other, less definable, "moments," such as when communities take steps to understand external demands for their lands and formulate community policies and protocols, or when they collaborate with civil society organizations on alternative, communitydriven models of development.<sup>47</sup>

Community members and allies also reported using available information to inform and update government regulators and lenders. For example, communities and allies recounted that a regulatory agency would often welcome their efforts to inform it of company breaches of laws. Another civil society representative recalled discovering that a controversial dam project was financed, through an intermediary, by a DFI. That institution reportedly only found about local anger about the project, which was eventually abandoned, when the community brought a complaint under the lender's accountability mechanism.



Rice farming in central Madagascar. © Shutterstock/Pierre Jean Durieu.

PART III gatekeeper incentives regarding transparency

Power affects the potential impact of any effort to improve governance and accountability. This is particularly true in the context of land investments, where immense power imbalances exist between communities and their allies, on the one hand, and gatekeepers on the other. Where political barriers exist, interventions can seek to:

- Navigate the existing political context and find openings for advancing LIT;
- Change the political context to remove barriers to the advancement of LIT; or
- **Circumvent** actors creating political barriers to the advancement of LIT and achieve desired results through other actors or means.<sup>48</sup>

This section sets out gatekeepers' likely incentives and disincentives to understand where such barriers may lie. Where different gatekeepers' incentives vary or conflict, the most powerful actors usually influence, if not control, ultimate outcomes. Of course, contexts vary tremendously and are also subject to change, making it impossible to universally pin down the incentives of different actors.<sup>49</sup> Relatedly, institutions and the individuals within them may have differing incentives, further complicating the calculus. Nonetheless, a general understanding of likely motives can help to anticipate gatekeeper reactions to calls for the advancement of LIT and to identify especially fruitful avenues for improvement.

#### **HOST GOVERNMENTS**

#### Actors within government

Restrictive attitudes to disclosure and to community participation in decision-making processes are more often attributed to entities that promote and facilitate land-based investment, including: investment promotion agencies; ministries of agriculture, forestry, and/or renewable energy; ministries of economy and finance; and special economic zone authorities, among others.<sup>50</sup> Such actors' incentives may align with those of the executive and heads of government, who may wish to use land investments to demonstrate their prowess in catalyzing development,<sup>51</sup> to consolidate political control,<sup>52</sup> or for personal enrichment.<sup>53</sup>

Entities focused on environmental and social issues (such as ministries and agencies focused on environmental protection, justice, and human rights) may view LIT more favorably, as a tool to help them carry out their work.<sup>54</sup> Parliamentarians, when acting in good faith and independently from ruling parties and the executive, may also view LIT as supporting their role as a check on executive power.<sup>55</sup>

Local governments may see increased transparency as desirable if they are excluded from decisions concerning investment. However, local actors with concrete roles concerning investment may instead block the advancement of LIT,<sup>56</sup> in which case national-level officials may be the ones insisting on transparency as a means of asserting some control.<sup>57</sup> Where power is devolved to the chief level, customary leaders may also eschew transparency, negotiating privately with investors, even to the exclusion of government.<sup>58</sup>

#### Differing conceptions of development

Despite an international push for sustainability,<sup>59</sup> top-down, macro-economic conceptions of development still seem to drive many government approaches to investment.<sup>60</sup> Nationallevel government actors may view development in terms of

raw numbers, and as being dependent on private-sector investments, potentially obscuring questions about land ownership and food security in the process.<sup>61</sup> Investment may be seen an effective way to drive generation of gross domestic product, which governments may view as the primary measure of poverty eradication.<sup>62</sup> Foreign investment also offers the prospect of increasing a country's current account balance, reducing dependence on foreign credit and increasing access to foreign currency.<sup>63</sup> Such actors may regard disclosure and informed community participation in decision-making processes as causing unnecessary transaction costs and delays;<sup>64</sup> they may also dismiss mass resettlements, the overexploitation of water and forests, and the human rights violations that investments often cause as mere externalities that do not fundamentally alter the development calculus.<sup>65</sup> Actors following such approaches are eager to protect investors from undue scrutiny and to portray their country as having smooth investment approval processes.66

#### Competition for power

Interviewees in many countries viewed their heads of state and executive as controlling investment allocations. While contexts vary, this generally resulted in top-down, opaque decisions, from which communities were excluded.<sup>67</sup> In Cameroon, for instance, strict executive control over investment approvals rendered subsequent requirements for consultations and impact assessment mere afterthoughts, stripping them of any real transformational potential.<sup>68</sup> In Liberia, attempts were made to erode environmental regulators' influence by referring decisions under such regulators' purview to an inter-ministerial task force composed of institutions with no environmental mandate.<sup>69</sup>

Struggles for power between government actors more generally can lead to poor transparency outcomes for many actors. Some agencies hoard information, forcing other officials to ask companies for documents such as concession contracts, or to rely on personal connections. Competition between public agencies and actors has also produced poor outcomes for investors,<sup>70</sup> such as overlapping concessions awarded by different agencies.<sup>71</sup>

Government actors' power relationships with external actors can also have transparency impacts. Governments may argue that limiting information disclosure is a means of preserving strategic advantage during negotiations with incoming investors.<sup>72</sup> Governments may also compete with other countries in attracting investment, which can incentivize races to the bottom concerning governance and transparency.<sup>73</sup> More generally, governments will often face geopolitical pressure, which can include pressure from other states interested in seeing certain investments proceed.<sup>74</sup>

#### Corruption and patronage

Opaque decision-making processes enable government actors to procure illicit personal benefits in exchange for approvals or favorable treatment.<sup>75</sup> Unscrupulous actors with exclusive access to relevant information or decision-making processes may be incentivized to restrict community access, enabling them to secure illicit personal benefits or establish patron-client arrangements designed to accumulate or preserve control.<sup>76</sup>

#### COMPANIES

#### Actors within companies

Different actors within companies will have different priorities and agendas, as well as varying abilities to achieve their intentions in practice. For instance, environmental and social specialists will often grasp the need for stable community relations but are often not involved in early processes in which key decisions are made. On the other hand, actors that control budget allocations and are charged with overall financial and operational management of projects may be less sensitized to community issues and more reluctant to change the status quo.<sup>77</sup> A CEO's personal interest in advancing transparency may be crucial to effecting transparency improvements across company operations. In other cases, company approaches to communities may vary, depending on each project's individual manager. Regular staff turnover can also undermine companies' ability to systematically improve how they interact with communities.

#### Legal risk

Legal requirements are often a primary driver of company behavior concerning LIT.<sup>78</sup> Legal risk (arising from failures to comply with legal requirements) can arise from the host country's domestic law, from contractual relationships (including with lenders and insurers), and from companies' home states.

Legal risk may fail to motivate company action where there is a lack of meaningful consequences for company breaches of legal requirements. For instance, one civil society representative lamented the lack of "teeth" of the International Finance Corporation (IFC)'s disclosure requirements for its clients.<sup>79</sup> Likewise, transparency requirements may be ignored or poorly implemented by local, politically connected companies, which may instead rely on their connections with powerful government officials to secure authorizations.<sup>80</sup> Their political connections may also render them less concerned about the prospect of prosecution for criminal acts. Perceptions of legal risk may even incentivize unscrupulous companies to become less transparent. Companies may wish to preserve legal "grey areas" that they do not want resolved.<sup>81</sup> Alternatively, they may seek to avoid scrutiny of the company's beneficial ownership, which can expose techniques such as transfer mispricing or the use of shadow companies to obtain certification where the parent company remains uncertified and unaccountable.<sup>82</sup>

#### Operational and financial risk

Land-based investments face significant risks linked to tenure and community relations. The grievances of communities who were excluded or suffered adverse impacts, whose legitimate tenure rights were ignored, or whose expectations were not fulfilled, can transform into conflict, costly interruptions to production, legal challenges, stranded assets, and termination or abandonment.<sup>83</sup> Community grievances have also led to the revocation of host government authorizations.<sup>84</sup> Investing in local engagement processes and two-way communication, obtaining free, prior and informed consent (FPIC), and establishing grievance mechanisms have been revealed as crucial tools to mitigate the risks of costly community conflict.<sup>85</sup> Many industry representatives interviewed concurred, although almost all preferred to speak about information sharing and dialogue rather than FPIC. One former agribusiness representative viewed conflict with a local community as "tak[ing] up a lot of energy and oxygen and tak[ing] away from other aspects of the business," echoing evidence from the mining sector.<sup>86</sup> Meaningful, two-way communication enables companies to adequately respond to community concerns, while robust grievance mechanisms can enable communities to channel their frustration through productive, non-adversarial processes, rather than resorting to litigation.

Interviewees also viewed informed community participation in decision-making processes as helping companies to effectively:

- Manage legacy issues around land ownership. This helped avoid perpetuating "confusion and resentment, passed on from generation to generation."<sup>87</sup>
- Strengthen company access to and control of land. Companies who disclose information about their right to operate can demonstrate the bounds of their entitlement to lands, reducing the risk of conflicting land claims.<sup>88</sup>
- Stabilize smallholder supply. Companies may improve LIT as part of their efforts to encourage collaborative business relationships and partnerships with small-scale producers.<sup>89</sup>

#### **Reputational risk**

Some companies care about how they are perceived, both externally (by investors, buyers, regulators, competitors, and consumers) and internally (by employees).<sup>90</sup> They may therefore be open to improving their transparency practices to avoid having their reputations tarnished by allegations of rights violations or negative impacts. Yet reputation can also motivate companies to act more opaquely. Interviewees from civil society, a DFI, and an agribusiness acknowledged that companies might view additional transparency as increasing their vulnerability to damaging advocacy campaigns. This has the potential to cause a vicious cycle, where practices that exclude communities from decision-making lead to fallout that then discourages company representatives from being more transparent in the future.

#### Profit and cost

Companies' pursuit of profit and desire to save costs can be used to argue both for or against enhancing disclosure and community participation in decision-making processes.<sup>91</sup> For instance, a company could refuse to expand its community engagement program in the name of cutting costs, but that could ultimately increase the risk of community conflict that can have significant financial costs.<sup>92</sup>Likewise, companies may access new markets by complying with certification schemes that themselves require various elements of LIT. Nonetheless, various private sector interviewees noted that companies do view LIT as resource intensive without guaranteeing a project's success.

#### LENDERS AND EQUITY INVESTORS

#### Actors within lenders and equity investors

Like companies, lenders and equity investors comprise actors with varying degrees of sensitization to community issues, and varying abilities to ultimately influence the actions of client companies.

#### Legal risk

Conflict and grievances caused or facilitated by failures to ensure informed community participation in decision-making increase the chances of legal claims and formal grievances being brought against both companies<sup>93</sup> and their investors.<sup>94</sup> These have led to investors making financial settlements with communities. Increased LIT can both head off potential claims and also act as early warning signals for lenders and investors, enabling them to take action before grievances escalate to litigation.

#### **Financial risk**

Some lenders and investors perceive informed community participation in decision-making processes as improving operational risk management for the project. This is important, as operational risk for companies translates to financial risk for lenders (who seek to obtain interest on their loans) and for equity investors (who seek to maximize the return on their investment by increasing company value or income). The desire of lenders and investors to avoid project failure and costly delays can motivate them to require improved LIT of their investees.95 High-profile community conflict has also led to divestment campaigns, causing financial institutions to lose major institutional and individual customers.<sup>96</sup> In addition, fall out linked to community opposition has been linked to reduced stock prices for publicly listed entities.<sup>97</sup> Investor decisions to withdraw from projects create administrative and exit costs, and uncertainty for equity investors wishing to divest if no new buyer can be found.98 Finally, lenders and investors may find themselves on the hook to remediate rights violations.99

#### Reputational risk

Related to financial risks, lenders and investors are sensitive to negative publicity, which can affect perceptions from future investees and customers.<sup>100</sup> This can create a general aversion, though not always, to irresponsible projects that can explode into international media stories and complaints. Many investors increasingly wish to bolster their reputations for diligent screening and monitoring.<sup>101</sup>

#### Industry trends

Certain lenders and investors may also take cues from leading actors on best practice. Here, the lead of DFIs, whose mandates include advancing development, can help sensitize other investors of the value in requiring informed community participation in decision-making processes. For example, a manager from an emerging market financial institution viewed access to finance from DFIs as a big motivator for their adoption of improved community engagement practices. Likewise, a representative from an asset manager noted that private sector investors were often more "fluent" in issues like deforestation and climate change than in land-related or social measures, indicating the need for DFI leadership on community-facing issues.

Planting cassava, Asia. © Shutterstock/PimjanPhoto.

# PARTIV what risks can land investment transparency introduce?

While land investment transparency holds the potential for better governance and accountability, empowered communities, and the mitigation of social conflict, increased transparency may also pose certain risks, which should be factored into interventions and approaches.

#### **RISKS OF LAND LOSS**

In certain cases, increased information about communities and their lands may heighten the risks that communities could lose control of those lands.<sup>102</sup> Actors seeking land may be attracted to areas where information about land holdings and titles is easily accessible.<sup>103</sup> Where formalization of community land rights is done incrementally, gatekeepers may also disingenuously claim that lands not yet titled are impliedly the sole domain of the government—rather than acknowledging that the processes of formally titling community lands are in progress.<sup>104</sup> In addition, increased knowledge of the value and features of lands held by women and marginalized community groups may increase the risk of powerful community elites appropriating such lands—whether for themselves or to allocate to investors.<sup>105</sup>

These risks of land loss reinforce the importance of conceiving of transparency not only as disclosure, but also as including informed and empowered community participation in decision-making. The risks also highlight why transparency is best viewed as a complement to broader reforms and efforts, such as legal empowerment and the recognition and respect of legitimate tenure rights.

#### **RISKS TO COMMUNITY MEMBERS**

Information requests and participation in decision-making processes by communities can also introduce risks to community members, especially in repressive contexts with limited civic space. Community members and allies who seek to access information or advocate for community perspectives to be included in decisions may become targets for retaliation and criminalization. For instance, recent research highlights that more than one third of recorded attacks on human rights defenders in 2020 stemmed from failures to consult, or obtain the FPIC of, communities.<sup>106</sup> This risk illustrates the need to avoid relying on "decontextualized 'best practices'"<sup>107</sup> and to instead design and adapt transparency interventions to the relevant context.



Harvesting tea, Kenya. © Shutterstock/Jen Watson.



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# PARTV challenges experienced by communities and their allies

This section sets out various common challenges experienced by communities and their allies relating to disclosure and information access, comprehension, and use. Such challenges are often the result of gatekeeper incentives playing out in practice. These challenges can limit communities' ability to knowledgably influence decisions about investments and the governance of their lands and resources, and, ultimately, to protect their rights and drive their own sustainable development.

#### **DISCLOSURE CHALLENGES**

#### Information is not disclosed early enough

The timing of information sharing remains a significant challenge for enabling informed community participation in decisions. Communities need information to be disclosed sufficiently in advance of key moments when decisions will be made in order to digest that information, convene communally to identify priorities, and prepare to influence

decisions.<sup>108</sup> Information asymmetries will usually exist before disclosure, with gatekeepers controlling to a large degree whether or not communities are even aware that a project has been proposed. This asymmetry demonstrates the need for proactive disclosure, to alert communities of a potential project and enable them to begin preparations. In addition to examples of communities not hearing about a project until bulldozers arrive on their lands,<sup>109</sup> gatekeepers regularly fail to provide communities with all relevant information sufficiently in advance of key decision-making moments. For example, even those governments and companies that eventually publish copies of investor-state contracts tend to engage in minimal, if any, information sharing about the negotiation process before the contract is signed.<sup>110</sup>

#### Some information is never disclosed

In some cases, communities never find out the terms governing an investment project. For instance, in Cameroon, communities affected by plantations established in the 1960s and 70s still have not obtained copies of applicable investor-state contracts, despite a national law requiring disclosure of all natural resource investment contracts.<sup>111</sup> Likewise, civil society interviewees recounted examples where they uncovered that impact assessments had not been conducted after spending years requesting such documents.

In addition to breaching community rights to information, gatekeeper refusals to disclose information can introduce new risks for communities. For instance, communities and allies may resort to informal and covert avenues to obtain information,<sup>112</sup> which introduce additional risks of reprisals, concerns about accuracy, and challenges for keeping abreast of new developments.

#### A lack of proactive disclosure puts burdens on communities

The above failures by gatekeepers to proactively disclose information put the burden on communities and their allies to obtain relevant information before key decisions are made. This hinders communities' ability to understand what is at stake and to influence key decisions. Putting the onus on communities to seek out information also creates demands in terms of cost, time, and effort. Strategies employed by communities and their allies to obtain information that was not proactively disclosed include:

- Making formal information requests to government under right to information or freedom of information laws,<sup>113</sup> and purchasing documents from public agencies.<sup>114</sup>
- Asking companies and other non-governmental information-holders for information, often with reference to community members' rights to information, principles

of natural justice, or lender access-to-information policies.<sup>115</sup> (Other research has revealed a concerning trend of companies refusing information requests by civil society organizations acting on behalf of communities, which creates additional costs for communities who have to seek out the information themselves.<sup>116</sup>)

Directly observing activities or impacts.<sup>117</sup>

These measures are not always possible in certain contexts, including where civic space is under attack and where defenders face criminalization and reprisals.

# Disclosed information may be inaccurate, fueling "information wars"

When gatekeepers disclose information, there may be doubts as to its accuracy or completeness.<sup>118</sup> In extreme cases, misleading or false information may be shared as part of what one civil society representative called an "information war." One community member interviewed reported having to pay a government entity for maps of mining concessions, and receiving maps it believed the entity knew were out of date and inaccurate. These challenges can further increase the amount of time needed for communities to fully understand what is at stake and determine how they can participate in decisions that have not been made.

#### ACCESS CHALLENGES

#### Information, when disclosed, often remains inaccessible

Where governments or companies do disclose documents and other relevant information, these can remain out of reach for communities. In some countries, for example, forestry conventions are often published in hard copy in government gazettes; these are only accessible in faraway government buildings, unless unearthed by civil society actors who can identify which of hundreds of gazette volumes contains the relevant document. Communities and allies interviewed also relied on media reports,<sup>119</sup> online repositories of documents administered by governments<sup>120</sup> or other actors,<sup>121</sup> and company websites;<sup>122</sup> though communities will often require external support to be able to access such information sources.

#### Decision-makers are inaccessible

If communities want to influence relevant decisions, then access to decision-makers within government, companies, and investment chain actors is crucial. But communities often face challenges in locating decision-makers. One community representative, for example, said they could only access a company's local managers, making it harder to develop working relationships with other company representatives who might have the power to improve the company's community engagement practices. Another community representative said it was so difficult to find government decision-makers who were adequately informed about an infrastructure project that communities could not obtain consistent and reliable information; this led to confusion about how the project would affect them and whether or not they were entitled to participate in decision-making concerning the project.

The way that a project is financed can also introduce barriers to accessing decision-makers in investment chains. For instance, communities can struggle to identify project lenders and inform them about local challenges when finance is opaquely routed through intermediary institutions.

#### "Poverty cannot be eliminated by people who stay in their offices."

- Community member

Source: International Accountability Project (IAP), Back to development: A call for what development could be (2015), 81.

#### **COMPREHENSION CHALLENGES**

## Communities often start with a low understanding of their rights and other legal issues

Communities often do not start with a detailed understanding of legal issues, which puts them at a disadvantage in claiming their land and human rights, and in knowing what information they are entitled to, how to get it, and how to participate in decision-making. The law is often complex and inaccessible. Different actors' rights and responsibilities, and investmentrelated decision-making processes, are derived not only from constitutions and laws, but also from contracts, permits, and other documents. Many of these sources are often not publicly accessible, and communities may struggle to understand how different sources interact. Confusion relating to overlaps in customary and formal laws can also be exploited by gatekeepers to further discourage empowered community action.

"I can hear a chainsaw but how do I know if it's legal?"

- Community member

Source: Project Completion Report - Making the Forest Sector Transparent, Global Witness (2013)

#### "[The land law] gives communities the power but they don't understand"

- Community member, Kenya<sup>123</sup>

#### Disclosed information is hard to understand

Communities will generally struggle to read and digest technical documents spanning hundreds or thousands of pages. More generally, communities without experience of large-scale investment projects may struggle to grasp the implications of a proposed project. Community and civil society representatives reported a strong need for technical information to be summarized and made easier to understand.<sup>124</sup> Incoming investment projects can also increase confusion about community members' land rights, as governments may change how land is categorized to facilitate investments.<sup>125</sup> Circumstances can also change—such as authorizations either expiring or being renewed—without communities being updated.<sup>126</sup>

## INFORMATION USE (AND BROADER GOVERNANCE) CHALLENGES

### Governments privilege company information over community information and make poor decisions

Governments tend to prioritize information provided by companies to the detriment of information generated by communities.<sup>127</sup> This is problematic, as data is never neutral; control and access to data brings with it "tremendous political and ideological power."<sup>128</sup> Even map data can be manipulated by the entity doing the mapping.<sup>129</sup> If companies control what will be measured, and how, they can influence how information is portrayed and shape narratives in their favor. Poor decisions are more likely to be made when community information, which can signpost the risk of social conflict,<sup>130</sup> is ignored.

One civil society interviewee lamented that information collected and provided by communities is "discounted" because of assumptions that the community will be selfinterested. That same interviewee expressed frustration that company consultants are assumed to act with more objectivity, referring to a case where consultants erroneously concluded that land was "unoccupied and infertile" despite obvious indications of community occupation and use.

#### Regulators often neglect their mandate

Many relevant government regulators, such as national level ministries, often do not maintain regular presences at project sites, and therefore rely on information being shared with them by companies, rather than robust monitoring and enforcement.<sup>131</sup> This can result in government agencies acting as "absentee regulators," ones that are often unaware of how projects are proceeding until local unrest makes headlines. Relying on information produced by the entity that is being regulated indicates a breakdown of transparency and accountability. While the impediments to active regulation may be framed in terms of resource and personnel shortages, in practice these are often the result of political choices.<sup>132</sup>

#### Good faith regulators are undermined

Government regulators that seek to enable the sharing of information with communities to enable their participation in investment-related decision-making often face pressure and pushback from more powerful actors. Such actors may be willing to exert influence to advance the investment at any cost. For instance, one Central African government interviewee recounted recommending against approving mining in a particular area and receiving death threats from a mining company, which was connected to the Prime Minister. In another instance, a former head of an environmental agency in West Africa was reportedly sidelined after measuring a mine's environmental impacts; they also described being pressured from a "higher office" to "play ball" after making a finding that a high-profile agribusiness plantation violated environmental regulations. In such circumstances, the ability of good faith regulators to fulfill their mandates, which can include enforcing obligations for information sharing and participatory processes, is often limited.

## Communities do not control whether or not a project takes place

Communities are still usually viewed as being subject to decisions concerning investment, rather than as having rights to decide whether or not a project can take place and, if so, on what terms. The international rights of Indigenous and tribal peoples to free, prior and informed consent (FPIC)<sup>133</sup> are often still elusive in practice. Likewise, international recognition of the need to respect legitimate tenure rights, <sup>134</sup> which include undocumented customary rights to lands and resources, remains, in many cases, an aspiration rather than reality.

While courts or ombudsmen have recognized community rights to FPIC in various contexts,<sup>135</sup> many governments continue to use public purpose expropriations to make way for investment, or otherwise award concessions before engaging communities.<sup>136</sup> Companies and lenders have proven similarly resistant to FPIC. Even companies that understand the importance of stable community relations tend to prefer consultations to FPIC.<sup>137</sup> The IFC has also restrictively interpreted application of its FPIC standard, applying it in less than 2% of its entire portfolio.<sup>138</sup>

In rare cases, however, grievance procedures have led to companies deferring to community rejections of projects. For

#### "[Companies] do not ask for your ideas, they just come and inform you."

Community member

Source: IAP, Back to development: A call for what development could be (2015), 82 example, community grievances issued through the Office of Accountability of the former Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) led to the suspension of construction of Mexico's Cerro de Oro Dam.<sup>139</sup> Likewise, a Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO) grievance led Olam Gabon to commit to not using land within its formal concession where community landholders refused.<sup>140</sup>

### Information and participation can be used by gatekeepers to dampen pressure for systemic change

While open and participatory processes are needed to enable communities to obtain and use information, experts have warned of the risks of viewing participation, especially at the project level, as a "magic elixir."141 Gatekeepers may cede to demands for increased community participation as part of a strategy to deflate pressure for deeper institutional changes, such as formal recognition of Indigenous territories or alternative, community-driven development approaches.<sup>142</sup> Participatory processes like consultations may therefore convert communities' political demands (for instance, to control their lands and development) into less transformational procedural ones (for instance, for disclosure and inclusion in decisions). When communities are opposed to a project, such procedures create forums for, at best, contestation and communication: more often, they enable the further domination of communities by powerful companies,<sup>143</sup> and debilitate legitimate community opposition.<sup>144</sup> Having snuffed out pressure for structural change, governments can simply multiply project-level participatory processes while ensuring those processes remain disconnected from national policy debates or formal accountability mechanisms.<sup>145</sup> Exclusion from the policy level in turn limits the boundaries and scope of what communities can secure through project-level participatory channels.<sup>146</sup> These dynamics reveal the limitations, and even risks, of focusing on information and project-level participation.

# Existing initiatives privilege elite perspectives, rarely meeting community needs

The experience of existing initiatives with transparency and governance components show that communities' transparency needs are unlikely to be met unless communities are defined as a primary beneficiary of such initiatives. Initiatives like the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI) and the EU Forest Law Enforcement, Governance and Trade (FLEGT) program, both analyzed in detail below, have led to the release of flurries of data, with the intention of animating citizen, civil society, and/or commodity buyer use of such information. The focus on this broad set of beneficiaries means that these initiatives often fail to enable communities to better access, understand, and use information in open decision-making processes and systems.

### BOX 2: THE EXTRACTIVE INDUSTRIES TRANSPARENCY INITIATIVE

The Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI) was launched in 2002 as a narrow set of rules focused on revenue transparency in the extractives sector. Since then, EITI has evolved into a global standard implemented by over 50 countries. It is a multi-stakeholder initiative that now requires the disclosure of contracts, license allocations, beneficial ownership data, and social and economic spending by the private sector, among others, with the aim to "promote open and accountable management of extractive resources."<sup>147</sup> EITI was created at a time when investigative journalism, campaigning, and academic literature had brought natural resource management issues to the fore. EITI received highlevel support from the G8 countries, donors and development banks, although oil companies initially argued against company reporting.<sup>148</sup> EITI responded to company concerns by designing the initiative as a level playing field, where all companies operating in a particular country were required to make the same disclosures.<sup>149</sup> Though challenges remain, EITI has undoubtedly facilitated a "deep normative shift"<sup>150</sup> around extractives sector data disclosure.

The evolution of the EITI standard demonstrates how initiatives can build the normative basis for increased disclosure over time, starting with a narrow set of rules that can generate buy in, which are then progressively developed into a more comprehensive set of requirements. NGOs have been instrumental in the evolution of the standard, and have used EITI to initiate broader discussions on transparency and accountability in the extractives sector in different countries. Scholars have found that successful strategies to broaden the scope of EITI can be attributed to a "layering technique" that takes small but deliberate steps toward expanding reporting requirements.<sup>151</sup>

#### Participation and influence: Who has a seat at the table?

The creation of multi-stakeholder groups (MSGs) in each participating country to oversee implementation of the EITI standard has led to increased participation of civil society in extractives-related policy discussions at the national and international level. In some countries, MSGs have facilitated unprecedented access for civil society to engage with government and the private sector.<sup>152</sup> In addition, some NGOs working at the national level have rallied around the EITI standard to build regional and international networks. Certain better-networked local organizations have also been able to use their participation to increase their influence at the domestic level and their access to international funding.<sup>153</sup>

While MSGs have facilitated greater civil society participation in extractives governance, EITI tends to be viewed as an elite platform that only well-resourced and "professionalized" CSOs can engage with.<sup>154</sup> Civil society platforms have been created in some countries to facilitate participation of more diverse groups.<sup>155</sup> But investment-affected communities—including community leaders who, unlike CSOs, have formal mandates to represent and be accountable to their constituents—are still excluded from MSGs.<sup>156</sup> As a result, disclosure or other transparency gains at the EITI may be less informed by, or likely to align with, community needs.

#### Impact

EITI has led to more extractives sector data being made publicly available. The effective use of the data by citizens to achieve broader goals remains a challenge, however: there is insufficient evidence, for example, that EITI has led to significant improvements in governance and accountability in countries where it is implemented.<sup>157</sup>

Lessons from the EITI experience suggest that, in order for future land transparency initiatives to contribute to better governance, multiple strands of work should be pursued in parallel, focused on efforts that increase data use, open decision-making processes, and government responsiveness. In order to do this, the politics that underlie the citizen-state relationship must be well understood,<sup>158</sup> and the following questions interrogated: What pathways to accountability exist within a given context? What motivates citizens to organize in a given context? What obstacles do they face? And how do governments respond?

This textbox was written by Tehtena Mebratu-Tsegaye.

#### BOX 3: THE EU FOREST LAW ENFORCEMENT, GOVERNANCE AND TRADE (FLEGT) PROGRAM

The European Union (EU) Forest Law Enforcement, Governance and Trade (FLEGT) program is an international multistakeholder effort whose emphasis on governance has been accompanied by a strong emphasis on forestry sector information disclosure.<sup>159</sup>

FLEGT establishes arrangements between the European Union and timber-producing countries that seek to address illegal logging in line with the EU's 2013 Timber Regulation. The key components of FLEGT are Voluntary Partnership Agreements (VPAs) — legally binding bilateral trade agreements between the EU and individual timber-producing host countries. Each VPA establishes standards for the "legality" of timber produced, and accompanying host country mechanisms to enforce those standards. Some also have annexes that set out disclosure requirements. VPAs and "legality" definitions vary by country. Each VPA starts with existing host country law as its foundation. The EU and the host country then agree upon a law reform process, which typically results in reforms that align with EU expectations of "legality."<sup>160</sup> Once monitoring systems and reforms are implemented and audited, the VPA progresses to a regime where only licensed product, verified as compliant with host country law, can be exported to the EU.<sup>161</sup>

While VPAs focus heavily on legality, compliance is primarily encouraged through financial incentives in the form of access to the EU market.<sup>162</sup> To build pressure for compliance with national law, FLEGT also provides technical and financial resources to support multi-stakeholder processes and improve monitoring by government and, in some countries, CSOs.<sup>163</sup>

FLEGT has achieved some success. Encouragingly, seven countries have signed VPAs with the EU and another nine are currently in negotiations,<sup>164</sup> which reportedly involve diverse coalitions representing both powerful and some disadvantaged parties.<sup>165</sup> In addition, the VPAs create binding obligations on host countries to more effectively regulate timber production.<sup>166</sup> The OpenTimberPortal, established to capitalize on FLEGT-related document disclosure by timber producers, has published substantial amounts of project-related documents and contracts from a range of Central African countries.<sup>167</sup>

FLEGT has also been subject to various evidence-based criticisms. Noted shortcomings include: its onerous compliance mechanisms and barriers to participation by small-scale producers;<sup>168</sup> broad producer noncompliance;<sup>169</sup> host government failures to honor transparency commitments and guarantee improved rights-holder participation in investment-related decision-making;<sup>170</sup> low access to information;<sup>171</sup> corruption-prone verification mechanisms;<sup>172</sup> and a failure to establish lasting licensing regimes to certify compliance.<sup>173</sup>

FLEGT's shortcomings have been attributed to its overreliance on market forces and to pre-existing incentives within EU and host government bureaucracies, which often prioritize quick and demonstrable results over substantive change.<sup>174</sup> FLEGT has even been described as a "fad," one of many fleeting initiatives that attract significant donor resources and attention but then succumb to bureaucratic ambivalence in the absence of immediate results.<sup>175</sup> One critic has asserted that state consolidation and a myopic reliance upon definitions of legality have not only failed to improve governance, but may in fact be exacerbating inequalities by favoring elite actors.<sup>176</sup>

Of course, attributing these shortcomings to FLEGT alone ignores the broader context in which VPAs are signed. Most host countries face intractable social and economic inequalities and political challenges, which FLEGT is not designed, nor equipped, to resolve. While researchers have identified several strategies for improving the program, such as expanding access to program data,<sup>177</sup> FLEGT's success will likely continue to be limited by structural factors beyond its scope. A continuing failure to ground FLEGT's transparency requirements in the needs of local communities will also likely limit FLEGT's potential to bolster community information access and participation in decision-making and forestry governance.

This textbox was written by William Sommer and Sam Szoke-Burke.



Small-scale agriculture, Morocco. © Shutterstock/monticello.

### PART VI responding to the challenges: strategies to advance more effective land investment

This section explores ways to improve disclosure and access, comprehension, and/or use of information by community members as empowered participants in open decision-making processes and governance systems.

These strategies and approaches need to be adjusted to—and their appropriateness will depend on—the local context,<sup>178</sup> taking into consideration potential risks to community members and their lands (see *Part IV*, above).

The ideas highlighted will often need to be paired with other important interventions, such as enhancing community legal literacy and improving access to justice, in order to empower communities to claim rights, hold others to account, and effect important changes to relevant governance systems.<sup>179</sup>

Each strategy and approach's potential for impact will be affected by the likelihood of resistance from gatekeepers,<sup>180</sup> or by the potential to decouple relevant gatekeepers' influence or control from such solutions.<sup>181</sup> Most of the suggested strategies and approaches are therefore accompanied with insights into how gatekeepers might respond.

#### 1. DRIVING AGENDAS WITH COMMUNITY-LED PROCESSES

Communities can set the agenda for transparency by articulating how decisions should be made concerning their lands, resources, and development.<sup>182</sup> Specific tools for communities to set agendas include autonomous protocols,<sup>183</sup> community bylaws,<sup>184</sup> and community-led development plans.<sup>185</sup> These tools can be used to set clear expectations regarding information sharing, time and support needed, and how communities expect to be involved in decision-making. More broadly, protocols, bylaws and development plans can articulate community priorities concerning self-determination, the management of lands and resources, customary decision-making processes, and visions for development.

"... the consultation protocol serves as an instrument to give strength... to say we have the right to be consulted in this way, in this timeframe... it is not you who decides who is coming to our villages. We decide."

- Indigenous leader from Brazil

Source: Mebratu-Tsegaye, T., and Kazemi, L., Free, prior and informed consent: Addressing political realities to improve impact, CCSI (2020), 24

Community agenda-setting may be needed precisely because communities often are not proactively provided with information and afforded opportunities to participate in decision-making. These transparency shortcomings are often caused by government reluctance to recognize community rights to control their lands and resources, such as FPIC and legitimate tenure rights. Instead, governments restrict information sharing and opportunities for community participation to preserve governmental control over land allocation. For example, governments may focus consultations on the question of compensation, rather than on whether or not the communities consent to the land being taken. The legal status of protocols, bylaws and development plans, and the prospects of gatekeepers respecting them, may vary. Nonetheless, this proactive step can build pressure for community inclusion in investment-related decision-making, and strategically position communities for follow-up responses where their demands are ignored.

#### Gatekeeper insights

While governments and companies will usually continue to resist community demands for the right to decide whether or not projects take place, protocols, bylaws, and development plans may be welcomed to the extent that they help gatekeepers navigate the complex social conditions of local communities. Even if gatekeepers resist deferring to community decisions concerning proposed investments, having protocols, bylaws, or development plans may help open up space to discuss how to meaningfully feed community insights into ultimate decisions.

#### 2. INCREASING TECHNICAL SUPPORT FOR COMMUNITIES

Technical support—from local allies, civil society, and other experts—is often crucial to enabling communities to access and understand information and to knowledgably influence decisions relating to land investments. Types of support often needed include legal empowerment, help obtaining early information about projects,<sup>186</sup> and support in identifying lenders, equity investors and insurers linked to projects.<sup>187</sup> Technical support can also help communities: develop protocols, bylaws, and development plans; navigate consultations, negotiations, and other processes; and more effectively pursue grievances or seek redress.<sup>188</sup>

An important part of community support to help access, understand, and use information is the question how such support is funded. Given the vast numbers of projectaffected communities around the world and the limited resources of philanthropic and aid donors, new forms of funding are needed to enhance community access to support. The private sector can be a supplementary source of funding. For instance, resource companies have directly paid for lawyers<sup>189</sup> and anthropologists<sup>190</sup> to support communities, and for facilitators and training to help address resolve ongoing conflict.<sup>191</sup> The RSPO's Principles and Criteria also require member companies to ensure that "FPIC is obtained...with option of resourced access to independent advice."192 Yet direct company funding introduces the risk of actual or perceived undue influence by the company over the community or its support provider. A "basket fund" approach, where multiple companies and other actors pay into an independently-administered facility that finances community technical assistance, would help to increase community access to support while managing the risk of undue influence.<sup>193</sup> By increasing community access to support, a basket fund could help enhance information access, comprehension, and use in investmentrelated decision-making.

#### Gatekeeper insights

Increasing community access to technical support cuts both ways for companies. While companies are wary of facilitating the entrance of campaigners who bring the prospect of naming and shaming, some companies regard community technical support as crucial to inform interactions, set realistic expectations, and build cooperative relationships between communities and companies.

Several resource company representatives saw a basket fund for community technical assistance as a good idea. But they anticipated challenges in actually securing financial contributions from companies in the absence of binding requirements, such as loan conditions or performance standards. Governments may also resist such an effort if they perceive it as threatening their control over the conduct of investment;<sup>194</sup> involving government—in an appropriate way in planning for a basket fund may help to mitigate such risks.

#### 3. EMPOWERING GOOD FAITH REGULATORS

Communities' ability to access and understand information and influence decisions can be bolstered by empowering good faith regulators and other "reformers" within government. Because such actors often face political barriers to carrying out their mandates, efforts to empower them must be politically attuned, rather than focusing solely on skill development. Lessons from previous attempts at reforming captured sectors reveal that good faith actors' influence can be bolstered by linking them with other credible actors within government and strategic allies beyond government, such as civil society, the private sector, religious groups and academia. Such alliances can boost regulators' legitimacy or increase their collective influence, helping to overcome resistance by reluctant gatekeepers.<sup>195</sup>

## 4. IMPLEMENTING MULTI-STAKEHOLDER AND PARTICIPATORY PROCESSES

Multi-stakeholder processes—which involve a combination of communities, allies, companies, government, and other actors—can create new avenues for communities to obtain relevant information, share their perspectives, and seek to understand and influence decision-makers. While all solutions come with risks for communities, the risks attached to multistakeholder processes deserve particularly careful consideration. Such processes can increase the risk of attacks against participating community representatives, who may draw attention to themselves when voicing grievances, making demands, or advocating for potential action.

#### **Dialogue processes**

Dialogues involve having regular meetings among stakeholders, and may be implemented at the project-, landscape-, or national level. Communities can use dialogues to request and obtain information, share their perspectives with gatekeepers, build trust, understand different actors' goals and motivations. Dialogues can also be a vehicle for communities to use information to influence decisions and peacefully resolve grievances.<sup>196</sup>

Multi-stakeholder dialogues can also bring various challenges. Dialogues may introduce new political spaces for community elites to occupy, further marginalizing grassroots perspectives. Elite community members tasked with both representing all community members and faithfully reporting back to them may instead seek to accumulate personal benefits and influence. For this reason, dialogues should act in coordination with community-wide meetings or consultations, rather than replacing them. In addition, dialogues may replicate existing power imbalances and be subject to domination by gatekeepers.<sup>197</sup> Dialogues can also result in frustration if they do not lead to improved outcomes.<sup>198</sup> An emphasis on empowered participation by community representatives, including in deciding on the norms and processes that govern the dialogue, is therefore critical. The presence of impartial actors from civil society and reputable public institutions may also help to engender productive, action-oriented dialogues.<sup>199</sup>

#### Gatekeeper insights

While companies are often willing to participate in dialogues, their objectives in doing so can deeply affect outcomes. While "performative" and controlling approaches are unlikely to lead to meaningful dialogue and change,<sup>200</sup> companies participating as part of a commitment to strong community relations may enable more transformative outcomes for participating communities.<sup>201</sup>

#### Joint inspections, monitoring, and fact-finding

The co-production of data by communities, allies and gatekeepers—whether through joint inspections, monitoring or fact-finding relating to community grievances—may help increase community access to information and informed community participation in decision-making. Joint processes can correct misleading or inaccurate information, fill evidence gaps, and build trust and shared understandings between actors.<sup>202</sup> Crucial to the co-production of data is what happens to it afterwards: communities must have equal access to the data they help produce, rather than enabling the "extraction" of such data from communities.<sup>203</sup>

#### Gatekeeper insights

Joint fact-finding has been financed by individual companies<sup>204</sup> and facilitated by lender-linked grievance mechanisms,<sup>205</sup> indicating some gatekeeper openness. In other instances, however, companies have instead resisted community entry to project areas.<sup>206</sup> One civil society interviewee reported that regulators have agreed to joint inspections, but only for smaller and less politically connected projects.

## 5. FACTORING COMMUNITY-GENERATED INFORMATION INTO INVESTMENT-RELATED DECISIONS

While transparency efforts often focus on information produced by powerful actors, information generation by communities and their allies has transformative potential—for communities and land governance more generally.<sup>207</sup> Communities producing their own information can feed local perspectives into decision-making and governance processes, and highlight deliberately under-examined impacts. This can help communities to break gatekeepers' control over the information upon which decisions are made.<sup>208</sup>

Community information-generation can take different shapes, including:

- Mapping community lands and resources.
- Monitoring—for illegal activities<sup>209</sup> and adverse impacts of investments.<sup>210</sup>
- Community-led human rights impact assessments of investment projects.<sup>211</sup>
- Community-led surveys concerning proposed or current investments.<sup>212</sup>

Community information generation can reinforce community autonomy by increasing gatekeepers' understanding of the significance of Indigenous peoples' and other communities' relationships with lands and ecosystems<sup>213</sup> and their ability to manage and monitor lands.<sup>214</sup> Generating data may also help communities to shape narratives around how ecosystems and resources should be used, and to advance community-centric approaches to land use.

" [W]e have decided to watch over our lands and forests, and to get organised to collect and publish information to tell the world what is going on."

 Chairperson of the South Rupununi District Council, Guyana, 2017

Source: Wagnon, J, "Closing the Gap: Rights-based solutions for tackling deforestation," Forest Peoples Programme (FPP), Feb. 15, 2018.

Community information can also produce significant governance outcomes. It can reveal rights violations that are not being addressed by the company or known by the government or the company's investors.<sup>215</sup> Communities have therefore responded to government reliance on company data by calling for processes like environmental and social impact assessments to include consideration of communitygenerated information.<sup>216</sup> Community information can also help to check inaccurate or misleading information,<sup>217</sup> and resolve factual disputes by filling evidence gaps with crucial local information.<sup>218</sup>

#### " If the company had surveyed even one local person, they would have known about the importance of the spring before they put a waste dump on this spot."

- Community member

Source: IAP, Back to development: A call for what development could be (2015), 84.

#### Gatekeeper insights

Government representatives are sometimes willing to access community-generated information and such information may help justify findings by good faith regulators regarding deficient participatory processes. Nonetheless, gatekeepers within government may resist any proposal to require them to incorporate such information into decisions.

Some companies may already factor in community-generated information. For instance, one mining company—albeit in a jurisdiction with strong protections of Indigenous rights—is contractually bound to take community-generated information "into consideration for all its decisions when considering the accuracy of impact predictions" and when designing mitigation measures.<sup>219</sup> Other companies view community data with more skepticism: one interviewee with experience working with agribusiness and forestry companies noted that companies would want to verify mapping done by farmers.

Given their removal from the local context, lenders and investors may find community data helpful for due diligence and the improvement of risk assessments.<sup>220</sup> This may be especially so given the growing acknowledgement by lenders, noted by a DFI environmental and social specialist, of a duty to know what is happening at project sites.<sup>221</sup>

### 6. INITIATING DOMESTIC MECHANISMS TO INCREASE PUBLIC ACCESS TO INFORMATION

Domestic governance mechanisms, like "freedom of information" or "right to information" laws and parliamentary approval processes for incoming investment, can help increase disclosures and make decision-making more accountable.<sup>222</sup>

Communities have, with and without support from allies, navigated their country's right to information laws to obtain information. When visible and accessible to community members, such laws can increase community access to information.<sup>223</sup> Certain design elements and approaches can bolster the transformative potential of such laws and minimize risks to community members. For instance, enabling anonymous information requests may help minimize the risk of reprisals.<sup>224</sup> Further, a right to information framing can help emphasize that information access is a human right, and not something that gatekeepers should be able to control and arbitrarily curtail.<sup>225</sup> Vigilance is also needed against overly broad exceptions to disclosure and other attacks on the right to information in contexts of democratic backsliding or shrinking civic space.

Parliamentarians can build pressure for greater public disclosure and more inclusive decision-making about proposed investment projects.<sup>226</sup> For instance, including parliamentarians as part of decision chains in investment approval may give them more leverage to push for increased public disclosures by the executive. They can also use existing parliamentary processes like budget allocation procedures to access information and push for public disclosure. Of course, parliamentarians themselves may not always be a force for increased transparency; a captured parliament may actually increase the risks of poor transparency.<sup>227</sup>

### 7. EXTENDING COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION BEYOND PROJECTS TO THE POLICY LEVEL

The challenges and limitations of project-level participation through processes, such as consultations, indicate a need for communities to also influence the systems and norms that govern investments and accompanying transparency requirements. While the passing of laws can be met by serious deficiencies in implementation, it is still an important step with wide-ranging ramifications. Enabling community participation in the development of laws and policies can strengthen disclosure and community access, comprehension and use of information in three ways. First, communities and allies can directly push for laws and policies that operationalize information access (such as through right to information laws) and public participation (such as through requirements for participatory processes in the development of impact assessments). Communities and allies participating in policy and law development can also act as counterweights to elite influence over policy. They could therefore help to build and safeguard the norms underpinning an ecosystem of transparency and good governance, rather than simply being subject to laws agreed upon by elite actors.

Second, communities can use law and policy processes to strengthen protections of community rights to give or withhold their FPIC and legitimate tenure rights. These rights can bolster community leverage when making demands for information and participation in investment-related decision-making (as discussed in *1. Driving agendas with community-led processes*, above).

Third, transparency entails open governance systems (see *What is land investment transparency?*, above). The development of laws and policies should therefore be open to the participation of communities and other rights holders. Community involvement in law and policy processes can also enhance the responsiveness of governance systems more broadly.

In determining how to create openings for community participation in policy development, communities and their allies can draw inspiration from the experiences of Indigenous representative bodies and peasants' movements.<sup>228</sup> For example, Bolivia's experiment with direct parliamentary representation of Indigenous peoples,<sup>229</sup> while made possible by unique political circumstances and subject to challenges in practice,<sup>230</sup> could offer inspiration. Similarly, Cameroon's LandCam initiative, while still in its early stages, also pursues a model aimed at bridging communities and policy-level conversations. The initiative, which focuses on reforming Cameroonian land governance, encourages the participation of national and grassroots CSOs, along with Indigenous and women's groups and representatives from project-affected communities, in iterative policy conversations. LandCam also facilitates dialogue with parliamentarians, policy makers, and the private sector. Emerging efforts for an Indigenous Voice in Australia are also grappling with ways to require regular government engagement with Indigenous perspectives on law and policy development.<sup>231</sup> While these examples may not yet have led to systemic change or new laws, they demonstrate potential modalities for how communities can participate in policy development.



FIGURE 2: HOW EACH STRATEGY CAN HELP ADVANCE LAND INVESTMENT TRANSPARENCY

Source: Sam Szoke-Burke.



Community meeting, Guinea Bissau. © Shutterstock/TLF Images.

# $\mathsf{PART}$ $\mathsf{VII}$ conclusion and recommendations

The enduring governance and accountability challenges of land investments often have important links to the poor state of land investment transparency. While a means to other ends, improved transparency can be as beneficial for communities as for host governments, companies, and investment chain actors. This report calls on donors, global policy makers, and CSOs to conceive of transparency not simply as disclosure of relevant information, but as also including community access, comprehension, and use of that information in open decision-making processes and governance systems. Such actors must also design, and situate, transparency efforts as complements to more transformative governance frameworks, such as human rights, access to justice, and the protection of legitimate tenure rights.

Set out below are recommendations, organized according to each of the seven strategies proposed in this report for advancing more effective land investment transparency. Other more general recommendations follow. In addition to serving as concrete steps for action, these recommendations are intended to contain seeds for the development of additional insights and approaches to improve disclosure and to enhance communities' abilities to access, understand, and use information. In doing so, these recommendations can help to ground land investment transparency efforts in the needs of the communities who so often bear the negative effects of land investments developed without their meaningful involvement.

### TABLE 1: RECOMMENDATIONS

Strategy	Recommendation for donors	Recommendation for global policy makers	Recommendation for civil society organizations
<ol> <li>Driving agendas with community-led processes that set norms and expectations that advance transparency. (e.g., processes to develop autonomous community protocols, community bylaws, and community-driven development plans)</li> <li>See page 29, above.</li> <li>Increasing technical support for communities.</li> <li>See pages 29–30, above.</li> </ol>	Support communities and their allies to implement community-led processes. Support strategies to bolster gatekeepers' recognition and respect of the results of community-led processes. Continue to support efforts to provide technical assistance to communities to enable them to access, understand, and use information.	Underscore the legitimacy of community-led processes and the results of such processes. Set norms for when, and how, gatekeepers are required to incorporate the results of community-led processes into decisions. Highlight the importance of community support in fulfilling rights inherent to transparency, such as FPIC and the right to information.	Continue to raise awareness about, and support the implementation of, community- led processes. Find ways to bolster gatekeepers' recognition and respect of the results of community-led processes. Continue to support communities to access and understand information, and to knowledgably participate in investment-related decisions.
	Support efforts aimed at increasing the availability of technical support, such as a basket fund for community support.	In norms and programs, create expectations and requirements for gatekeepers to facilitate and finance independent community support.	Amplify calls for gatekeepers to finance community support through mechanisms that guarantee independence of support.
<b>3. Empowering good faith regulators.</b> <i>See page 30, above.</i>	Support politically savvy efforts to bolster the influence and performance of good faith regulators.	Continue to underscore the obligations of governments to regulate investment and enable land investment transparency. Develop programs to bolster the legitimacy and influence of good faith regulators.	Find politically savvy ways to support good faith regulators.
4. Implementing multi- stakeholder and participatory processes at the project level. (e.g., dialogues, joint inspections, joint monitoring, and joint fact- finding) See pages 30–31, above.	Critically analyze proposals for multi-stakeholder processes, and support those that address power imbalances and have a real prospect of improving information sharing and informed community participation in investment- related decision-making.	When appropriate, facilitate multi-stakeholder processes that address power imbalances and have a real prospect of improving information sharing and informed community participation in investment- related decision-making.	Support communities to knowledgably participate in multi-stakeholder processes, where appropriate. Continue to explore the potential for multi-stakeholder modalities to improve information sharing and opportunities for communities to influence decisions.
5. Factoring community- generated information into investment-related decisions. See page 31, above.	Support community information-generation efforts. Support efforts to ensure decision-makers concretely incorporate such information into investment-related decisions.	Encourage use of community- generated information as a legitimate and useful source of information for investment- related decision-making. Support efforts to ensure that decision-makers concretely incorporate community- generated information into investment-related decisions.	Support communities to generate and use information. Explore and advance ways to ensure that decision-makers concretely incorporate such information into investment- related decisions.

### TABLE 1: RECOMMENDATIONS - continued

Strategy	Recommendation for donors	Recommendation for global policy makers	Recommendation for civil society organizations
6. Initiating domestic mechanisms to increase public access to information. See page 32, above.	Continue to support efforts to enshrine and operationalize the right to information and, where appropriate, efforts to bolster parliamentary involvement in investment- related decision-making.	Continue to underscore the importance of the right to information and mechanisms for governments to fulfill it in practice. Continue to articulate the need to protect against the weakening of right-to-information processes and to protect rights holders who seek to invoke such processes. Support, when appropriate, mechanisms for parliamentary involvement in investment- related decision-making.	Continue to advocate for, and support communities to safely use, right-to-information processes. Advocate for such processes to be designed in ways that guard against the risk of retaliation for those who invoke them. Where appropriate, call for parliamentary involvement in investment-related decision-making and support parliamentarians to increase disclosure and community participation in decisions.
7. Extending community participation beyond project-level to the policy level. See page 32, above.	Support efforts to enable communities to influence the development of laws and policies that affect them, including concerning disclosure, information access, comprehension, and use in open decision-making processes.	Underscore and advance the rights of communities to influence the development of laws and policies that affect them, and the modalities for doing so.	Find effective and context-specific ways to enable communities to influence the development of laws and policies that affect them, including concerning disclosure and information access, comprehension, and use in open decision-making processes.
Other transparency interventions, efforts and initiatives. (e.g., development programs and multi- stakeholder initiatives) <i>See pages 8–10, 25–27,</i> <i>above.</i>	<ul> <li>Support efforts that:</li> <li>conceive of transparency as extending beyond disclosure, to include community access, comprehension, and use of information in open processes;</li> <li>are grounded in the needs of communities and other</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>Design and implement efforts that:</li> <li>conceive of transparency as extending beyond disclosure, to include community access, comprehension, and use of information in open processes;</li> <li>are grounded in the needs of communities and other local</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>Design and implement efforts that:</li> <li>conceive of transparency as extending beyond disclosure, to include community access, comprehension, and use of information in open processes; and</li> <li>are grounded in the needs of communities and other local</li> </ul>
	<ul> <li>local actors; and</li> <li>seek to navigate, change, or circumvent political barriers.</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>actors; and</li> <li>seek to navigate, change, or circumvent political barriers.</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>actors; and</li> <li>seek to navigate, change, or circumvent political barriers.</li> <li>Build pressure for direct community participation and representation in relevant transparency efforts.</li> </ul>
On transparency more generally. See pages 8–9, above.	Strategically support transparency efforts when they are needed to complement—or fill voids created by the blockage of—more transformational frameworks for improving the governance and accountability of land investments.	Strategically use transparency framings and programming to complement—or fill voids created by the blockage of— more transformational frameworks for improving the governance and accountability of land investments.	Strategically pursue transparency when it can productively complement—or fill voids created by the blockage of—more transformational frameworks for improving the governance and accountability of land investments.

## METHODOLOGY

This report forms part of a portfolio of research conducted by CCSI on a demand-driven approach to the transparency of land investments, focusing on the transparency needs of projectaffected communities and host governments. It is based on 36 semi-structured interviews and 12 unstructured interviews and extensive desktop research, including a focus on literature produced by, or heavily focused on the perspectives of, projectaffected communities and their local allies. The report also draws from country-specific field and desktop research on land investment transparency in Cameroon and Liberia. In addition to land investments, it draws from experiences in other sectors, such as infrastructure and the extractive industries.

Interviews were conducted with representatives from projectaffected communities in Cameroon, Guyana, Kenya, and Liberia, and civil society actors supporting communities in Argentina, Colombia, Cameroon, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ghana, India, Liberia, Mexico, Nepal, Haiti, Sierra Leone, and Tanzania. Host government representatives interviewed included officials at ministries of agriculture, environment, and land, as well as investment promotion agencies and a special economic zone, and current and former members of parliament. These government representatives came from Cameroon, one other Central African country, Ethiopia, Indonesia, Liberia, Senegal, and Sierra Leone. Private sector and DFI interviewees included current and former environmental and social experts, sustainability managers, as well as representatives focusing on external relations, global affairs, loans and finance, and responsible investment stewardship; their interviews drew on experiences with land, resource, or infrastructure projects in Canada, Ghana, Guinea, Laos, Liberia, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, and South Africa.

CCSI's broader research portfolio on land investment transparency benefitted from regular advice and dialogue with an expert advisory group that included:

- Joan Carling, Co-Convener of the Indigenous Peoples Major Group for the SDGs and of the Right Energy Partnership
- Nsama Nsemiwe Chikolwa, Land Policy Coordinator for the African Union
- Lorenzo Cotula, Principal Researcher on Law and Sustainable Development at the International Institute for Environment and Development
- Erin Kitchell, Director of Global Programs at Namati
- Megan MacInnes, Scottish Land Commissioner and former Land Advisor at Global Witness
- Win Min, Senior Programme Associate for Tourism, ICT, and Regulatory at the Myanmar Centre for Responsible Business

# ANNEX: WHAT INFORMATION IS NEEDED?

This annex lists known types of information that communities and their allies may need in the context of land-based investment.<sup>232</sup> It is organized temporally according to the potential life cycle of such investments, though there will be overlap between these stages. All such information should also be made available in language and formats that are comprehensible to communities, including non-technical summaries of documents, as discussed in Information comprehension, above.

ning	Type of information
	Rights and laws, generally
	<ul> <li>Individual rights to information, participation, association, and, where relevant, to give or withhold free, prior and informed consent.</li> </ul>
	Community rights to land and other natural resources. <sup>233</sup>
	• Content of laws, regulations, policies, bylaws, and land use plans governing the management of lands and resources, and investment.
	<ul> <li>General understanding of legal frameworks and the range of decision-making processes potentially available.</li> <li>Demonstration of how rights and processes have been effectively used in the country or elsewhere.<sup>234</sup></li> </ul>
	Opportunities for land investment by communities
	• Ways for communities to participate in, contribute to, and develop their own, proposals for land investments.
	Project proposal, implications, and decision-making processes
_	<ul> <li>The proposed nature, objectives, and size of the project.<sup>235</sup></li> <li>The location (including boundaries, maps, and geographical coordinates) of the project and any areas that will be affected, and any neighboring or overlapping projects.<sup>236</sup></li> </ul>
	<ul> <li>Preliminary assessments of the project's likely negative impacts (such as is contained negative environmental, social, and human rights impacts), and preliminary plans for avoidance and mitigation of identified negative impacts.</li> </ul>
	• Preliminary assessments of the project's likely positive impacts, including information enabling communities to distinguish between promises and reality. <sup>237</sup> Data about benefit spending and employment creation should be granular and disaggregated to avoid raising expectations, and explain how these will meet the community's conception of benefit, rather than the company's conception. <sup>238</sup>
	• Likely payments to be made to the host government, and how such payments will reach the community. <sup>239</sup>
-	<ul> <li>Information about the project's aftermath, including what the land will be like afterwards and what generational impacts are likely to occur.<sup>240</sup></li> </ul>
-	Reports commissioned or generated about the project, including impact assessments, baseline studies, scoping reports, feasibility studies, plans, and other external reviews.
	<ul> <li>Plans for stakeholder engagement and community consultation, including how community feedback will be incorporated into project design.</li> </ul>
	Alternative formulations of the project that would minimize potential adverse impacts. <sup>241</sup>
	Alternative development pathways and comparisons between those and the proposed project. <sup>242</sup>
	Applicable rights, laws, and processes
	Evidence of company compliance with applicable laws. <sup>243</sup>
	• The applicable criteria, procedures and timelines for the assessment, approval and establishment of the investment and any land conversion. <sup>244</sup> This includes permitting, bidding, contracting, the calculation of compensation, and community consultations. <sup>245</sup>
	Community rights relating to public purpose expropriations and forced resettlement.
	• All authorizations and permits, and contracts, including investor-state contracts, community-investor contracts, and associated subcontracts and documents with intermediary actors or other landholders. <sup>246</sup>
	• All government entities involved in authorizing and regulating the investment project, including contact information for relevant individuals at each entity. <sup>247</sup>
	<ul> <li>Applicable avenues to seek additional access to information established domestically or by the company, investment chain actors, or value chain actors like buyers.</li> </ul>

Timing	Type of information
	The company (or companies) carrying out the project
	• The company's directors, shareholders and beneficiaries, parent and associated companies, incorporation details and related documents, company addresses both in the host country and, if the company is foreign-owned, the company's country of domicile.
	The involvement in the company of any "politically exposed persons"—those entrusted with prominent public functions within the host country. <sup>248</sup>
	• The company's membership in any certification bodies, sustainability initiatives, and industry associations.
	<ul> <li>Relevant company policies, codes of conduct, and decision-making processes, including community engagement and consultation plans and processes, and grievance mechanisms.<sup>249</sup></li> </ul>
	<ul> <li>The company's relevant track record and experience. This includes: past involvement in any disputes regarding, or violations of, tenure or human rights; any other negative environmental or social impacts; and any past illegal, corrupt, or unethical conduct; previous experience with similar types of projects; histories of solvency, acquisition and abandonment of projects; and copies of the company's recent financial statements or, if it is a new company, bank statements showing the capital secured for the investment.</li> </ul>
	Contact information for the company's lead on investment.
	Investment chain actors and financiers
	The project's lenders, equity investors, and insurers. This should include disclosures of involvement by financial     institutions that invest via intermediary institutions. <sup>250</sup>
	Applicable performance standards and other conditions applying to the company.
	Contact information for project leads at relevant lenders, investors and insurers.
al	Buyers and other value chain actors
Before project approval	<ul> <li>Lists of actual and intended purchasers of the commodities produced, and other actors in the supply chain. This includes traders, who buy commodities from companies and sell on to manufacturers and other end users, entities that buy commodities for their own production purposes, and intermediaries who may play a connective role in connecting agricultural producers to end users.<sup>251</sup> It also includes contractors who provide services or carry out jobs on behalf of the project.<sup>252</sup></li> </ul>
e pro	Information about likely and intended destination countries for the commodities. <sup>253</sup>
efor	Available avenues for grievance redress
	Domestic legal and administrative avenues for redress. <sup>254</sup>
1	<ul> <li>Applicable non-judicial grievance mechanisms established by, or otherwise linked to, the company, its lenders and investors, their customers, and certification and sustainability initiatives.<sup>255</sup></li> </ul>
ject	Updates on company conduct and project impacts
ле project	<ul> <li>Timely and predictable updates on changes and progress made for any of the above.</li> <li>Regular "refreshes" of explanations to communities regarding the terms of the above, maintenance of ongoing access</li> </ul>
During th	<ul> <li>to documents, and provision of information that is lost or otherwise no longer available.<sup>256</sup></li> <li>The terms of royalties and other transfers to be made to the community, regardless of whether such terms are included in community-company agreements or other instruments.</li> </ul>
1	<ul> <li>Regular, timely and meaningfully disaggregated reporting on: company production and profits;<sup>257</sup> compliance with laws and contracts; benefits shared and transfers made both to community members and government entities;<sup>258</sup> negative impacts caused and measures taken to address those; modalities for ongoing community participation in decision-making, dialogue processes, and grievance mechanisms.</li> </ul>
oject	What will happen after the project ends
e pro	Who the land will revert to following the company's exit, and the process for returning control of the land.
the	Responsibilities, and the process, for rehabilitating any damage to the land caused by the investment.
After the project 🔸	<ul> <li>Remedy pathways for any right violations or losses incurred, and avenues for obtaining those.</li> <li>How any benefit sharing or community development arrangements linked to the project will be affected by the company's exit, and arrangements for the continuation or winding down of remaining reserves.</li> </ul>

## **ENDNOTES**

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- 35. For example, workers may have additional information needs around labor rights, the longevity and nature of their roles, and avenues for redress or grievance as workers.
- 36. For example, small-scale producers' information needs may include information about the buyer-seller relationship, the consumer-facing brand that ultimately purchases their goods and that brand's sustainability commitments, broader market conditions and prices (including prices paid in the past or by other companies for goods of similar quality), and their rights and responsibilities as suppliers to companies.
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- **95.** See, e.g., IFC Performance Standard 1 (information disclosure) and 7 (Indigenous peoples); Equator Principles (July 2020) (which apply the IFC PS to EP financial institution-issued project finance (\$10 million or more) and corporate loans (\$50 million or more)).
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- 242. FAO VGGT, above note 134, Art. 12.6 ("States should consider promoting a range of production and investment models that do not result in the large-scale transfer of tenure rights to investors, and should encourage partnerships with local tenure right holders."); Report of the Special Rapporteur on the right to food, Olivier De Schutter, Addendum: Mission to Cameroon. (Dec. 18, 2012), UN Doc. A/HRC/22/50/Add.2, paras. 48, 73(i) (calling for "a transparent and participatory debate on the opportunity costs of granting land to investors that plan to develop agro-industrial plantations, when strengthening small local farmers' access to land, [which] could do more to improve local food security and reduce rural poverty"); Randriamaro, Z., above note 232, 37 (stating that "[a] n analysis cannot be defined as one measuring true cost and benefit if it does not assess and compare a number of project / development options which claim to satisfy the same or similar objectives").
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- 256. Szoke-Burke, S., above note 8.
- 257. Land Conflicts and Shady Finances Plague DR Congo Palm Oil Company Backed by Development Funds, joint report by RIAO-RDC, Africa Europe Faith & Justice Network, Entraide et Fraternite, GRAIN, SOS Faim, UMOYA, Urgewald, War on Want and World Rainforest Movement (Nov. 2016), 17-18; Boakye, B., et al., above note 189, 33.
- 258. Interview with mining company sustainability manager; Boakye, B., et al., above note 189, 33.



"Rather than assuming that transparency in itself will help improve governance or accountability, we must ask the question, "for whom?" Drawing on research in Cameroon, Liberia, and from around the globe, this report calls on donors, global policy makers, and civil society organizations to ground transparency efforts in the perspectives of local actors. This means conceiving of transparency not simply as disclosure of relevant information, but as also including community access, comprehension, and use of that information in open decision-making processes and governance systems."

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