As part of our commitment to accountability and learning, Oxfam will share conclusions and recommendations from evaluations. Internally we will share with relevant stakeholders, ensuring that they have an opportunity to participate in discussion of those results in meaningful ways. We will also publish the evaluation reports on our website in accessible language.

As a rights-based organization, accountability, particularly to the communities we seek to serve, is of the highest importance to us. For Oxfam, accountability requires Oxfam to regularly and honestly assess the quality of its work, share and learn from its findings with primary stakeholders, and apply that learning in future work.

This is an evaluation of Oxfam America's Protecting the Amazon project. The program has been operating in Peru and Colombia since 2017 and this evaluation covers the work undertaken between 2017 and 2020.

The major evaluation activities took place between August and October 2020. The evaluation was carried out by Sofía del Valle and reflects the findings as reported by her. The evaluation was managed by Emma Fawcett from Oxfam America, and commissioned by Clemence Abbes, Leandro Gomez Ortiz, and Stephanie Burgos from Oxfam in Peru, Oxfam Colombia, and Oxfam America, respectively.
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INTRODUCTION

In recent years, industrial-scale production of commodities like palm oil, cocoa, and soy has been introduced in Peru and Colombia. The rapid expansion of these crops puts at risk the health and biodiversity of large swaths of the Amazon and threatens the rights, lives, and livelihoods of indigenous peoples and local communities in these areas.

In response to these dangers, in early 2017 Oxfam launched the project Protecting the Amazon: A Strategic Approach to Combat Commodity-Driven Deforestation by Empowering Citizens in Peru and Colombia, with the goals of curbing the indiscriminate expansion of agribusinesses and protecting the rights of local communities. The project has been implemented in the departments of Loreto, San Martín, and Ucayali in Peru, and in the departments of Caquetá and Vichada in Colombia.

As part of the project, Oxfam works alongside partners and allies at two levels: a macrolevel that focuses on national and international advocacy, and a microlevel that supports the work of organizations that have a local presence. Oxfam collaborates with five implementing partners, three in Peru and two in Colombia. In Peru, Oxfam’s partners are the Peruvian Society of Environmental Law (Sociedad Peruana de Derecho Ambiental, or SPDA) in Loreto, the national nongovernmental organization (NGO) Paz y Esperanza in San Martín, and the Federation of Native Communities of Ucayali and Tributaries (Federación de Comunidades Nativas de Ucayali y Afluentes, or FECONAU) in Ucayali. In Colombia, Oxfam’s partners are the human rights group Corporación Claretiana Norman Pérez Bello in Vichada, and the Platform of Women of Caquetá (Plataforma de Mujeres del Caquetá) in Caquetá. During the first year of the project, 2017, Oxfam in Colombia worked with the organization CIASE (Corporación de Investigación y Acción Social y Económica) in Vichada, but later decided to partner with Corporación Claretiana, given that Corporación Claretiana’s work and expertise aligned better with the objectives of the project.

This report presents the main outcomes of the project from its beginnings in 2017 to time of writing (October 2020). For the purposes of this evaluation, we use the definition of outcomes provided by BetterEvaluation, the global not-for-profit working to enhance and strengthen evaluation: “changes in the ‘behaviour writ large’ (such as actions, relationships, policies, practices) of one or more social actors influenced by an intervention.”1 Given the systemic and complex nature of the problem at hand, our study did not focus on proving attribution and direct

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causal links between said changes and Oxfam’s interventions, but instead on understanding the impacts and contributions of all initiatives associated with the Protecting the Amazon project, whether these effects were direct or indirect, were achieved independently or alongside other organizations, or were intentional or unintentional. Our report seeks to answer this question: How has the project contributed to the advancement of social and environmental justice in Peru and Colombia, and to curbing the expansion of agribusinesses that threatens biodiversity and the rights of local communities?
EVALUATION DESIGN

METHODOLOGY

The methodology behind this evaluation, known as outcome harvesting, is ideal for projects that take place in dynamic contexts, where multiple actors interact in a complex system, and attribution of impacts becomes unclear. This method, developed by evaluator Ricardo Wilson-Grau and his colleagues, begins with gathering evidence of what has changed, and then determining if and how an intervention associated with the program contributed that change. It is a highly participatory methodology, in which the program team and partner organizations collaborate with the evaluators in an iterative process to identify changes and find evidence to support the nexus between changes and the project activities.

The research process starts by formulating initial outcome descriptions based on preliminary interviews with the project-implementing staff and on an initial review of documentation. Later, these descriptions are tested in an iterative manner through deeper research and the collection of data through interviews with key actors and a more extensive review of documents and secondary information. In the case of this evaluation, the review included analyzing project documentation, reports, media articles, and press statements.

The evaluation was guided by the following questions:

1. What have been the effects of the initiatives implemented as part of the Protecting the Amazon project over the stakeholders linked to or affected by the agribusiness-led deforestation since the start of the Protecting the Amazon project in Peru and Colombia in 2017?
2. How have the activities and strategies implemented by Oxfam and its allies contributed to these effects?
3. In what sense have said effects contributed to the advancement of social and environmental justice in Peru and Colombia—particularly to issues of deforestation and protection of the rights of local communities?

The primary data collection consisted of 16 semistructured interviews with 22 people, including Oxfam team members, partner organizations, allies, experts, and a woman representing one of the communities in which the project is being implemented. The interviews were conducted remotely September 14–28, 2020.

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Table 1: List of interviews

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Name</th>
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<td>Stephanie Burgos</td>
<td>Oxfam America</td>
<td>Oxfam</td>
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</table>

*Dammert and Fuerte are no longer with their respective organizations.

LIMITATIONS

Like all evaluation methods, the outcome harvesting methodology has limitations, challenges, and blind spots. First, it only allows capture of those outcomes that informants are aware of and able to identify, leaving out positive or negative consequences that may not be visible to interviewees. Second, participation of
those who influence(d) the outcomes to be harvested is crucial; the coronavirus pandemic affected data collection and therefore limited the number of people, particularly in affected communities, who were able to participate. Finally, starting with the outcomes and working backwards can represent a new way of thinking about change for some participants, which may be a challenge when trying to identify relevant information and transformations.\(^3\)

Another important limitation of this study was the inability to conduct interviews in Peru and Colombia due to the COVID-19 pandemic. Not only were we unable to meet in person with those in the field, but connecting electronically was difficult because these rural communities have zero to little access to the internet. As a result of these constraints, this study was, in an innovative way, conducted remotely, with a focus on interviewing key actors present in urban centers (where internet connectivity was better in both countries). Finally, the study faced time constraints that limited the number of interviewed stakeholders to those listed in Table 1.

\(^3\) Ibid., 4.
EVALUATION FINDINGS

SUMMARY OF PROJECT OUTCOMES

Our study found that the Protecting the Amazon project has contributed to important changes in multiple areas of concern, including indiscriminate expansion of monocrops, deforestation, and poor implementation of environmental protections. Figure 1 presents the study’s key findings related to project outcomes. Section 4 of this report discusses each one of these outcomes in more detail, describing what has changed and how the work of Oxfam and its allies contributed to said change.

Figure 1: Summary of project outcomes

As the figure depicts, the richness of this project has been its ability to contribute to key changes at multiple levels: at the national level, it has curbed the indiscriminate expansion of agribusinesses and has led to effective sanction of environmental crimes; at the private sector level, there have been positive changes in business practices; and at the local level, it has furthered progress toward more protection, social justice, and gender equality in communities. At the
core of all these outcomes is the fact that the project has contributed in clearly defining and publicizing the problem, and in establishing an agenda focused on deforestation and agribusiness that keeps people at the heart (outcome 1). Finally, it is important to note the impact that the implementation of this project has had on Oxfam’s reputation and capacity, positioning it as a relevant participant in this arena at both national and international levels (outcome 8).

DESCRIPTION OF OUTCOMES

1. There is a clear definition of the problem at hand and a well-established social agenda within the public debate on deforestation and agribusiness.

What changed?

Deforestation and agribusiness, formerly relatively unknown topics, are now part of the public debate in Peru and Colombia. Today, it is possible in these countries to speak of a popular understanding of the social and environmental impacts of indiscriminate large-scale agribusinesses in the Amazon. Oxfam has played a key role in demonstrating how central defending communities and land rights is to the issue of deforestation and the expansion of agribusinesses.

Publications by Oxfam and allies have been among the first to clearly define the nexus between deforestation, agribusiness, and land rights and to bring public awareness to the topic. In particular, Juan Luis Dammert’s publications and the reports of investigative journalism developed by two independent groups, Convoca and OjoPúblico, in Peru, and Oxfam’s report A Snapshot of Inequality, regarding Colombia, were mentioned by most of the experts interviewed for this study, and these publications have served as a cornerstone for many of the strategies and outcomes that are described in this report.4

In the words of one of the interviewees, “the topic began to exist” in the public realm largely thanks to the tireless evidence-gathering and advocacy work of Oxfam and allied organizations. The increased visibility of the problem can be seen in multiple areas, some of which are described in more detail in the next section of this report. Key examples that demonstrate how different stakeholders have grown increasingly concerned include the initiative of the Peruvian government attempting to develop a plan for the sustainable

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4 A more detailed list of these publications is included in Annex 1.
development of palm oil; the adoption of better social and environmental standards by companies such as Grupo Palmas (the largest palm oil company in Peru) and Alicorp (a related consumer goods company); the decision of Peruvian public prosecutors to initiate court cases against companies and public officials involved in illegal deforestation; the opposition of civil society organizations in Colombia to government attempts to provide land titles meant for smallholders to large agribusinesses; and the concerns expressed by FMO (the Development Bank of the Netherlands) to Oxfam Colombia regarding the risks and impacts of investing in palm oil in the Colombian Amazon.

How has the work of Oxfam and its allies contributed to these changes?

One of the project’s strengths has been its solid theoretical foundation, based on the academic research of Juan Luis Dammert and on Oxfam’s previous studies in Peru and Colombia concerning land rights, agribusiness, and inequality. From this foundation, both Peru and Colombia adopted their own advocacy strategies, which further contributed to raising public awareness of these topics.

In Peru, the topics that have gained visibility are the irregular land acquisition dynamics used by private companies, and the impacts that these dynamics have over local communities and the native forest. This increased awareness has been achieved through innovative strategies such as the Protecting the Amazon project’s alliance with independent journalistic organizations like Convoca and OjoPúblico; its use of strategic litigation as an advocacy tool in widely publicized cases like those of Tamshi SAC and Ocho Sur (two large agribusinesses, focused on cocoa and palm oil respectively); its alliance with young activists through the Actúa.pe platform; its participation in international forums like the UN Climate Change Conference of Parties (COP); and its production and promotion of informational materials such as the Planting Conflicts: Agribusiness and Land Disputes in the Peruvian Amazon documentary, among others.

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5 In the end, this plan was not implemented due to lack of agreement among the stakeholders involved. However, the government’s interest in developing a plan that included social and environmental aspects is a sign of the increasing visibility of the industry’s impacts.


8 Oxfam en Perú, Planting Conflicts: Agribusiness and Land Disputes in the Peruvian Amazon, documentary video, 2019, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NUFE1fXFIMI&t=8s.
In Colombia, the focus has been on the issues of land accumulation and the defense of the rights of rural and indigenous women. The project has contributed to Oxfam in Colombia’s wider land and women’s rights strategy, and it has brought these topics into the public discussion through a variety of activities, including developing and disseminating pioneering studies regarding land acquisition and the violation of community rights through reports and videos; providing technical support to the Political Advocacy Platform of Colombian Rural Women (Plataforma de Incidencia Política de Mujeres Rurales Colombianas); and constant monitoring of and advocating for land rights legislation.

A fundamental element in both countries has been the collaborative and coordinated work with informal networks of civil society organizations: the land trafficking platform in Peru and the land group in Colombia. In both cases, these groups cooperate with each other, complementing their different approaches and areas of expertise, and aligning their advocacy strategies at the national and international level. The existence of a civil society front working in a highly communicative and coordinated manner is likely one of the main factors that increased the visibility of these issues in Peru and Colombia.

2. The indiscriminate expansion of agribusinesses in the Peruvian and Colombian Amazon has slowed significantly.

What changed?

In Peru, of approximately 100,000 hectares of large-scale plantations planned, not one plantation has managed to initiate operations since 2017 to this date. In Peru, palm oil is not a big industry: only 80,000 hectares of land are active palm oil plantations, and of this total, approximately 59 percent is held by small and medium-scale plantations (41 percent by large-scale plantations). However, private companies have started showing an interest in expanding the industry. One of the objectives of the Protecting the Amazon project in Peru was to nip this expansion in the bud so that the Peruvian Amazon could avoid following the example of the rapid and harmful expansion of the soy industry in Brazil. This evaluation found that the project has managed to contribute significantly to this goal.

In Colombia, to date there has been no new large-scale project in Vichada, despite the government’s efforts to promote agribusiness investment. The progressive Law 160, focused on agrarian reform and rural development, currently establishes that baldis (land that belongs to the state) should be given primarily to agricultural low-income workers and cannot be accumulated beyond what is required by a rural family to live decently (this amount is referred to as unidades agrícolas familiares [UAF], meaning “family farming units”). For over a decade, successive governments in Colombia have tried to change this law in to facilitate the provision of land titles and the accumulation of baldis for agribusinesses. Every year, civil society organizations’ opposition has prevented amending of Law 160. The controversial ZIDRES law (ZIDRES standing for Zonas de Interés de Desarrollo Rural y Económico, or Areas of Interest for Rural and Economic Development), which allows companies to accumulate baldis, was approved in 2016, but it has been moderated by additions proposed by civil society organizations, including environmental standards and the requirement of including prior consultation with local communities. In 2018, the government defined almost seven million hectares for ZIDRES projects, of which more than 60 percent are in the department of Vichada, a biodiversity-rich region that borders the Colombian Amazon. However, to date no new project supported by this legislation has been implemented in the region, partly thanks to civil society organization opposition and the high social and environmental standards required.

**How has the work of Oxfam and its allies contributed to these changes?**

In the case of Peru, the high visibility deforestation and its implications for human rights has been a key factor in curbing the expansion of agribusinesses. Companies are aware that they are being monitored, and such attention disincetivizes irregular activities (or at least, forces them to act more cautiously). Several interviewed actors mentioned that companies have expressed their frustration at being in the spotlight. Publications from civil society organizations—including Oxfam—and from independent journalism platforms have shone light on irregularities at Ocho Sur (in Ucayali) and Tamshi SAC (in Loreto), and these publications have connected said plantations with larger companies by mapping supply chains and even trailing the trucks that take products from plantations to buyers. In San Martín, Paz y Esperanza developed a monitoring system of the territory using drones and geographic information systems (GIS), allowing the group to alert authorities at the first sign of illegal deforestation. In the three regions where the project operates, local communities received training in

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mapping and monitoring their land, and thanks to their connection with civil society organizations, media, and public officers, these communities are also capable of alerting country authorities about any irregularity.

In Colombia, preventing regressive legal reforms to land rights has been a joint effort by civil society organizations for years. Similar to the situation in Peru, their strategy has been based on vigilance and monitoring, but in the Protecting the Amazon project work, it is focused on the legislative branch of the state, rather than on the private sector. This civil society alliance, referred to as the land group, analyzes reform proposals and puts forward its own proposal, raising technical concerns through media and advocacy directed at members of Colombia’s Congress. Additionally, through technical and financial support to the Plataforma de Incidencia Política de Mujeres Rurales Colombianas, Oxfam and its allies have worked to ensure that the voices of rural and indigenous women are present in these national debates.

3. Communities located near agribusiness projects have secured or are in the process of securing land titles.

What changed?

With support from the project’s implementing partners, communities in Peru and Colombia have made progress toward securing their land titles—key to the protection and empowerment of communities and central in the project. Although land titling varies in each community, all have experienced measurable progress—progress that is particularly meaningful given that none of the communities or the regions in which the project operates have been prioritized by their respective national governments in land titling efforts. On the contrary, land titling has been a hard process, and communities have faced obstacles including corruption and contested claims to the territory.

In Ucayali (Peru) the indigenous community of Santa Clara de Uchunya secured the land title for approximately 1,600 hectares that the community has been reclaiming for years. Supporting the community in gaining the title for this land, which it currently uses and which has been steadily invaded by Ocho Sur, was one of the main objectives of the Protecting the Amazon project from the start. The community estimates that their ancestral land comprises about 90,000 hectares, of which 7,000 are currently held by Ocho Sur. The strategy of the project focused on getting titles for at least the 1,600 hectares that the community currently utilizes in order to secure at least some land and prevent further infringement on the land by the company and other actors. Gaining the land title meant overcoming logistical barriers—for example, the requirement to
obtain a soil sample for each hectare as part of the process of being granted the land title—and navigating high corruption levels in Ucayali’s local government. After three years of continuous work, the government of Ucayali finally delivered the land title to the leaders of the community of Santa Clara de Uchunya in January 2020. Now the community has started working to recover the entirety of its ancestral land through legal means, and, supported by the Peruvian human rights NGO Instituto de Defensa Legal (IDL), the case is currently being reviewed by the Constitutional Court.

In Loreto (Peru) the community of Panguana II obtained its communal land title under the legal classification of “comunidad campesina,” while the community of Panguana I, which opted for presenting 41 individual land titling files, is one step away from securing these titles. The land of these communities is adjacent to Tamshi SAC’s lands, and this proximity has meant that these communities have lived under the threat of the company expanding and have faced obstacles from the company in accessing their lands. Additionally, the company acquired lands that included the community of Panguana II’s cemetery, and Tamshi SAC’s initial position was to demand that community members “remove their dead” and free the land for industrial uses. In this adverse context, the progress these communities have made toward land titling is significant. In addition to Panguana II’s filing for community land titles, a negotiation facilitated by Peruvian Society of Environmental Law (Sociedad Peruana de Derecho Ambiental, SPDA) led to Tamshi SAC agreeing to return the four hectares of land that include the cemetery to the municipality. The implementation of this agreement is still pending, however, because the COVID-19 pandemic has prevented the municipal council from meeting to accept the land.

In Vichada (Colombia), rural and indigenous communities, with support from Corporación Claretiana, created, for the first time, a clear analysis of the land and access in southern Cumaribo. Cumaribo, Colombia’s largest municipality (it covers an area larger than Switzerland and Belgium combined), is hard to reach and has been one of the areas most affected by Colombia’s long-lasting the armed conflict. Managing to have a clear understanding of land access in this region is a major accomplishment at two levels: first, the status of land tenure had not previously been clear; and second, the joint participation of rural campesino communities and indigenous groups was groundbreaking, given that these groups have traditionally been in opposition and have many competing demands over the land. The work of Corporación Claretiana led to the creation of a document demanding that the National Land Agency come and demarcate land plots. This document was signed by both indigenous and campesino groups.

*How has the work of Oxfam and its allies contributed to these changes?*
This progress on obtaining land titles is a direct result of the work of Oxfam’s partner organizations at the local level.

In Ucayali, FECONAU and the leaders of the Santa Clara de Uchunya community worked for more than three years in the land titling process, gathering the information needed and traveling constantly to Pucallpa, the regional capital, to meet with different public offices in charge of the process within the Regional Directorate of Agriculture in Ucayali (DRAU), ensuring that the authorities would recognize the urgency of completing the titling process. The process nonetheless suffered delays, but it would have been even slower, or even abandoned by the authorities, without the constant pressure of FECONAU and community leaders.

In Loreto, lawyers from SPDA worked directly with the communities of Panguana I and II through trainings and meetings, and the community members themselves decided how they wanted to pursue land titling. SPDA helped the communities prepare and present their files to the regional authorities, and the organization has followed the process closely ever since. In the cemetery situation, SPDA arranged a dialogue between the community, Tamshi SAC, and the municipal authorities in which SPDA argued that the cemetery and the associated river port could not, for legal reasons, be managed by a private company. In this way, SPDA managed to persuade Tamshi SAC to donate the land to the municipality, and SPDA also established an agreement that the municipality will manage cemetery and associated land with the participation of the citizens of the Panguana communities.

In Vichada, Corporación Claretiana organized trainings and intercultural dialogue roundtables focusing on land issues with members of the indigenous reservation and campesino communities of Cumaribo. These meetings brought together these different rural groups and helped them identify common problems and challenges. Additionally, the organization, supported by Oxfam, developed a detailed study about the land situation in the region and its historical context. This study is pioneering in the clarity it offers about an area little known in Colombia and internationally. The Truth, Coexistence and Non-Repetition Commission, an institution that emerged from the peace accord that aims to understand the truth and historical causes of Colombia’s 60-year conflict, plans to use this study as a primary source.

4. Peruvian public institutions effectively sanction environmental crimes.

*What changed?*
Several of our interviewees reported that in most cases in Peru, the problem is not the existing environmental laws (which tend to be progressive), but rather the lack of implementation and enforcement of these laws. Thus, the fact that Peruvian judicial and administrative institutions—with the support of the Protecting the Amazon project—have taken steps to sanction companies and public officials responsible for social and environmental harms is a positive development.

In Loreto, the ex-CEO of Tamshi SAC was sentenced to eight years in prison for the crime of illegal wood traffic. Additionally, in July 2019 Tamshi SAC was obliged to pay a civil reparation of $4.67 million to the Peruvian state. This ruling is historic: it is the first time that a court issued an effective criminal decision in an environmental case in Peru. Tamshi SAC appealed the sentence; the next hearing took place in December 2020 and the charges against the company were dropped.

Additionally, the Ministry of Agriculture denied Tamshi SAC environmental certification by the Peruvian Environmental Mitigation and Management Program (Programa de Adecuación y Manejo Ambiental, or PAMA). This denial is significant because if the ministry had approved the certification, it would be endorsing the corporate dynamic of “deforesting first, regularizing later.” Oxfam and its allies were able to illustrate this dynamic to the ministry, preventing a bad practice from being established.

In Ucayali, the community of Santa Clara de Uchunya presented its case against Plantaciones de Pucallpa SAC (now Ocho Sur) to the Constitutional Court in September 2019, arguing that their rights as indigenous people had been violated. The community is still waiting for the tribunal’s verdict—the first time that this tribunal will rule on a case regarding a violation of the right of subsistence of indigenous people, as well as on their rights to their ancestral land. Depending on the decision of the judges, this ruling could set a historical precedent for similar cases in the country.

In this same department, in response to evidence provided by Oxfam and allies, a public prosecutor from Ucayali sentenced corrupt public officials in charge of land titling with land trafficking.

In San Martín, the Regional Environmental Authority (Autoridad Regional Ambiental, or ARA) used evidence gathered by Paz y Esperanza to investigate and then fine the company Palmas del Huallaga for illegal deforestation.

How has the work of Oxfam and its allies contributed to these changes?

The work of the SPDA in Peru, and especially the organization’s local office in Iquitos, was key in obtaining the sentence against Tamshi SAC. SPDA, Oxfam, and other allies helped to put the case in the national spotlight, resulting in the
Peruvian public prosecutor taking the case and requesting the advice of SPDA, which acted as expert witness on issues like the appropriateness of Tamshi SAC’s environmental licenses. Even though the company managed to remove the charge of illegal logging from the trial and engaged in a smear campaign against the public prosecutor, a sentence was finally achieved: Tamshi SAC was declared guilty of illegal wood trafficking. Currently, SPDA is preparing a second case, this time focusing directly on illegal deforestation. Besides providing legal advice, the organization is gathering GIS evidence to demonstrate that land plots that on paper appear as agrarian land are actually native forest.

In Ucayali, FECONAU and IDL have been the main organizations supporting the community of Santa Clara de Uchunya in its legal process, while Oxfam has contributed by supporting FECONAU’s trips to Lima and in mobilizing the community. FECONAU has advocated at the local, regional, national, and international levels to obtain a hearing with the Constitutional Court, and the lawyers from IDL have acted as the legal defense in the process.

In the case of the public officials sentenced for land trafficking in Ucayali, Oxfam and allies provided evidence and advice. The public prosecutor leading the case met with these organizations after reading their publications and seeing their videos. During the first years of the case, investigated officials were convicted. In June 2020, the case was transferred to the court of organized crime in Lima.

In San Martín, Paz y Esperanza staff and community members used drones, satellite information, and GPS technology to gather evidence that Palmas del Huallaga was engaged in illegal deforestation. ARA investigated and fined Palmas del Huallaga, but the officials that took part in the ARA investigations were fired shortly thereafter, and ARA does not have any mechanisms to collect the fines.15

5. Rural and indigenous women are more empowered in the defense of their rights.

What changed?

Although gender equality progress has been slow due to deep-rooted cultural machismo in these countries, the Protecting the Amazon project has contributed to an increase in the number of women in leadership roles in some communities and to creating autonomy and empowerment spaces for them at the local, regional, and national levels.

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15 This challenge and others that the project faces when trying to make changes are discussed in the final section of this report.
In Colombia, **the voices of indigenous and rural women now have an important presence in national policy debates about land and women's rights.** Through Plataforma de Incidencia Política de Mujeres Rurales Colombianas, women have participated in debates about legal reforms to the land tenure system and have obtained representative roles within agencies like the Directorate for Rural Women, the national roundtable for the Development Programs with Territorial Focus (PDET), and the gender sub-commission at the Monitoring and Verification Commission for the Implementation of the Peace Accord (CSIVI).

In Caquetá (Colombia), **women have begun developing alternative livelihood projects**, supported by Plataforma de Mujeres del Caquetá. Finding new sources of income is significant because Caquetá is the department with most deforestation in the country, and these women-led projects offer an alternative vision to the extractive development model represented by monocrops and agribusiness. Additionally, **representatives from the Plataforma de Mujeres del Caquetá have actively participated as spokeswomen for female land and environmental defenders as part of Oxfam’s Juntas Somos Victoria**

16 campaign.

In Vichada (Colombia) **the participation of women in meetings—organized first by Corporación de Investigación y Acción Social y Económica (CIASE) and later by Corporación Claretiana—has increased.** The most successful spaces have been female-only gatherings, where rural and indigenous women who previously remained in the domestic space now meet and identify common concerns, strengthening their understanding of themselves as change-driving actors in their communities.

In Loreto (Peru), **the community of Panguana I chose two women as leaders.** This number contrasts with the situation at the early stages of the work of SPDA with the community, when all leadership positions were held by men. Similarly, participation in meetings and trainings organized by SPDA went from being almost 100 percent male to a male-to-female ratio closer to 70-to-30. Although gender equality is still a distant goal, having two women chosen as leaders is a sign of progress.

**How has the work of Oxfam and its allies contributed to these changes?**

In Colombia, the Protecting the Amazon project is part of a wider Oxfam strategy focused on the defense of women and land rights. The project has significantly contributed to this objective, bringing its expertise and resources related to land rights and deforestation to strengthen Oxfam’s support of Plataforma de

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16 Oxfam, Juntas Somos Victoria, media campaign, 2019, [https://juntassomosvictoria.org/#c](https://juntassomosvictoria.org/#c).
Incidencia Política de Mujeres Rurales Colombianas. For its part, Oxfam provides technical aid for advocacy, alliances, and visibility at both the national and international levels. It also occasionally provides funding for transportation and other logistical expenses. In general, Colombian interviewees recognized the importance Oxfam places on applying a gender lens to the work that it and its partners pursue.

At the local level, in Caquetá the project has been working in partnership with Plataforma de Mujeres del Caquetá since June 2020, supporting alternative livelihood projects for women in the region. The alliance with this organization led to the inclusion of women’s voices from Caquetá in the Juntas Somos Victoria campaign, as well as these women’s participation in advocacy tours in Colombia and internationally.

In Vichada, both CIASE and Corporación Claretiana developed programs with an intentional gender lens, creating participatory spaces for women and using strategies that aim to overcome participation barriers (for example, ensuring the trainings are facilitated by women and that meetings allow women to bring their children).

Similarly, in Loreto (Peru), SPDA and Oxfam from early on helped raise awareness regarding the lack of women’s participation and sought to ensure women’s representation by inviting them to meetings.

6. Environmental and land rights defenders receive more protection, but also face increased risks.

What changed?

The work of Oxfam and its partners and allies in Peru and Colombia has contributed to increasing awareness of the dire situation facing environmental defenders in the region. Some examples of this include the successful Juntas Somos Victoria campaign in Colombia, a campaign that has been groundbreaking in showing how gender increases the vulnerability of land defenders; the participation of Peruvian and Colombian land defenders in national and international forums on climate change or business and human rights—such as COP23 and COP25, the international “Agribusiness, Environment and Human Rights: Lessons from Latin America” forum organized

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17 Oxfam Colombia has supported the work of Plataforma de Mujeres del Caquetá as an organization that is part of the Plataforma de Incidencia Política de Mujeres Rurales Colombianas for several years. However, Oxfam’s financial support to this organization started only in 2020 as part of the Protecting the Amazon project.
by Oxfam,\textsuperscript{18} and the Forum on Monocrops in the Amazon, organized by SPDA;\textsuperscript{19} and the national advocacy efforts of FECONAU and other organizations, which led the Peruvian government to establish the Protocol to Guarantee the Protection of Human Rights Defenders.\textsuperscript{20}

Additionally, the concurrent work of implementing partners at the local level has protected defenders who are victims of intimidation, violence, and legal persecution, including the following examples:

- In San Martín, \textit{seven indigenous leaders criminalized for their efforts to protect their ancestral lands were acquitted in 2019}. The leaders of the native Ankash Yaku community in Achinamisa had been persecuted and taken to court on three occasions. Paz y Esperanza followed these cases closely and provided legal support.

- In Loreto, \textit{the Peruvian people’s ombudsperson intervened to support a woman from Panguana II} who had seen her land threatened by the intimidation and expansion attempts of Tamshi SAC.

- In Vichada, \textit{the state intervened to protect a young man from the Cumaribo region who was kidnapped by an armed group}, an intervention in response to Corporación Claretiana’s demands for his protection and publicizing of the situation.

While the Protecting the Amazon project has been able to help keep land defenders safe, it also has had adverse and undesired consequences in this aspect, contributing to increased risk faced by community members who choose to raise their voices to defend their land. In many cases, simply being associated with civil society organizations rends individuals suspect in the eyes of the authorities and private companies. In Cumaribo, for example, some community members have reported feeling intimidated by the military authorities that lead the crop substitution program in the region, and these community members report that authorities have interrogated them about their activities with Corporación Claretiana. This negative outcome seems to be the flip side of the many positive achievements of the project, given that the increased visibility, the campaigning, and the bringing entities to court often leads to reprisals by powerful actors who see their plans frustrated. It is central then that Oxfam doubles down on its efforts to protect human rights defenders in the Amazon.

\textsuperscript{18}“Foro Internacional de Oxfam analizó los alcances e impactos de los agronegocios de gran escala en América Latina,” Oxfam, \url{https://peru.oxfam.org/latest/stories/foro-internacional-de-oxfam-analiz%C3%B3-los-alcances-e-impactos-de-los-agronegocios-de}.

\textsuperscript{19}“Impacto de monocultivos en la Amazonía: conoce más sobre el nuevo episodio de Sesiones SPDA,” SPDA Actualidad Ambiental, February 12, 2020, \url{https://www.actualidadambiental.pe/impacto-de-monocultivos-en-la-amazonia-conoce-mas-sobre-el-nuevo-episodio-de-sesiones-spda/}.

How has the work of Oxfam and its allies contributed to these changes?

Increased awareness of the situation of defenders is the result of multiple advocacy activities at the national and international levels. The initiative Juntas Somos Victoria created an innovative media campaign to inform the public of the threats faced by women defenders and to demand protection and prevention measures by the government.21 The project’s most recent implementing partner, Plataforma de Mujeres de Caquetá, took an active part in the campaign, with some of its representatives participating in advocacy trips in Colombia and the United States.

The forums organized by Oxfam and SPDA connected defenders with academics, activists, and representatives from civil society organizations, government, and industry. These spaces have helped them amplify their story, strengthen their leadership, and address government officials directly.

Additionally, FECONAU has conducted a wide international advocacy strategy—supported by Oxfam and other international organizations—that has included developing audiovisual content for national and international audiences,22 the participation of the federation’s president in COP25 in Madrid, and meetings in Geneva that led Michel Forst, United Nations Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights defenders, to visit Peru and meet with the community of Santa Clara de Uchunya in Ucayali.23

At the local level, the project’s implementing partners have closely worked with defenders to try to ensure their protection. In San Martín, Paz y Esperanza follows the legal procedures against indigenous leaders closely, and in Loreto and Vichada, partner organizations have served as a bridge between the state and the communities, demanding protection for specific defenders when they have been victims of violence and intimidation.

7. Agribusinesses operating in the Amazon face increased scrutiny regarding their bad practices and have started improving their corporate standards.

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21 Oxfam, Juntas Somos Victoria.
22 Oxfam en Perú, Palma aceitera en Ucayali: Testimonios desde Santa Clara de Uchunya, video, 2018, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LjZhR_oIB1Y.
What changed?

In regard to the private sector, the main success of the project has been in holding companies accountable, gathering evidence, and showing the public the existing bad practices and socioenvironmental impacts of businesses and agricultural supply chains in the Amazon, especially in terms of the palm oil sector. Thanks to the evidence presented by Oxfam and allies, several companies have suffered financially and in terms of their reputations, losing the confidence of their investors and buyers. Some concrete examples of such impacts include the following:

- **Ucayali-based company Plantaciones de Pucallpa (now Ocho Sur)** abruptly withdrew from the Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO) and thus lost the possibility of being certified when it realized that the complaint that civil society organizations presented against it was going to have an adverse result for the company and affect relationships with buyers.

- **Melka Group** sold its assets in the Tamshi SAC and Ocho Sur projects, “exiting” them and the companies changed their names. Although it is not clear whether the business group truly left the projects or if announcements that it was doing so were just a façade, this action reflects the serious reputational impacts advocacy campaigns have had.

- **The Norwegian Norges Bank Investment Management (NBIM)** withdrew all its investment ($12.3 million) from Alicorp after Oxfam allies used Convoca’s investigation to demonstrate the company’s links to Ocho Sur and illegal deforestation in Ucayali.25

The Protecting the Amazon project has also contributed to improved corporate standards in the palm oil industry in Peru, including two particularly relevant examples:

- **Peruvian company Grupo Palmas published a new sustainability and no deforestation policy** that covers elements like free, prior, and informed consent (FPIC) and a commitment to palm oil traceability.26 Grupo Palmas is the largest private holding with palm oil plantations in Peru, accounting for about 30 percent of the existing plantations. It is part of Grupo Romero, the largest national palm oil exporter. This

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24 Melka Group the informal moniker of conglomerate of investments, named after the primary investor Dennis Melka.
25 “Alicorp: Banco noruego retira inversiones a empresa por escándalo de palma aceitera,” *La República*, March 5, 2020, [https://larepublica.pe/economia/2020/03/05/banco-noruego-retiro-inversiones-de-123-millones-de-dolares-de-alicorn](https://larepublica.pe/economia/2020/03/05/banco-noruego-retiro-inversiones-de-123-millones-de-dolares-de-alicorn).
sustainability and no-deforestation, no-peat, and no-exploitation (NDPE) policy, adopted in 2017, is the first in the country.27

- **Alicorp revealed the names of its palm oil suppliers in August 2020,**28 after refusing to do so on multiple occasions in response to civil society demands. This company—also part of Grupo Romero—is the largest consumer goods company in Peru, and the second-largest palm oil exporter.

**How has the work of Oxfam and its allies contributed to these changes?**

The focus on investigative journalism and evidence gathering, mentioned in the first outcome described in this report, has been key in uncovering bad practices and inspiring better corporate standards. The reports of the linkages between Alicorp and plantations responsible for harming local communities and the Amazon forest published by Convoca and OjoPúblico have had a wide reach and have informed investors like NBIM. In addition, the evidence presented in these reports has been used by land rights defenders to build cases and file complaints to the RSPO in two occasions: first, the one previously mentioned against Plantaciones de Pucallpa, and, more recently, a second one against Alicorp and another palm oil company, OLPESA.29

The positive changes in the corporate behavior of Peruvian companies is a response partly to the reputational harm from journalistic investigations and partly to Oxfam’s direct engagement and advocacy strategies. The policy changes and increased transparency observed in Alicorp and Grupo Palmas occurred shortly after Juan Luis Dammert, then Oxfam’s project coordinator, presented evidence of corporate bad practices in the Peruvian palm oil industry at a regional RSPO even in Colombia. He was also later invited by Grupo Palmas to contribute to and provide comments during the development of the company’s new sustainability and NDPE policy.

**8. Oxfam is emerging as a relevant participant in the land/climate/deforestation nexus debate.**

**What changed?**


28 Bracamonte and Castro, “Alicorp del Grupo Romero revela nombres.”

The project in Peru and Colombia has not only affected external actors (such as communities, companies, public institutions, investors, citizens, and allied organizations), but it has also enhanced Oxfam’s reputation and role, at both the country level and the confederation level.

In Peru, Protecting the Amazon has become one of Oxfam’s signature projects, positioning the organization as a model for how to address the socioenvironmental impacts of agribusinesses in the Amazon. The project’s experimentation with innovative strategies—such as the use of litigation in representative cases and the building of unusual alliances with actors like environmental public prosecution offices and independent journalism organizations—proved to be very successful.

In Colombia, the project has allowed Oxfam to remain a part of the land and agrarian policy debates, providing input into technical debates and bridging these decision-making spaces in Bogota with rural and less connected regions like Vichada and Caquetá. Furthermore, the project raised the voices of rural women in these spaces. The issue of land accumulation is at the heart of Colombia’s direst problems, along with stark inequality and armed conflict; hence, supporting land defenders and being part of these policy conversations is of the utmost importance and strategic relevance. Additionally, Oxfam’s international credibility and reputation benefit allied national organizations that work on these issues, because these organizations tend to be considered political and thus face significant barriers in their advocacy and rights-defending work.

At the confederation level, the project has been instrumental in developing Oxfam’s approach to climate justice in a way that links the topics of climate change, environmental justice, and land rights through the lens of deforestation, putting the voices of frontline communities in the Amazon front and center. Thanks to this project, Oxfam has been able to take part in global conversations about the land/climate nexus, a linkage that is becoming increasingly prominent internationally. Oxfam’s presence speaking up about indigenous rights and land acquisition at COP23 in Bonn and COP25 in Madrid, its participation in the Land Rights Now campaign, and its presence in the

annual land conferences of LANDac and the World Bank, to name only some examples, has been possible thanks to this project’s work in Peru and Colombia.

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32 LANDac, the Netherlands Academy on Land Governance for Equitable and Sustainable Development, is a partnership between Dutch organizations (the International Development Studies [IDS] group at Utrecht University, the African Studies Centre, Agriterra, the Sociology of Development and Change [SDC] group at Wageningen University, the Land Portal Foundation, HIVOS, the Royal Tropical Institute [KIT], the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Enclude Solutions) working on land governance. See https://landportal.org/organization/landac.

CHALLENGES, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Looking forward, the Protecting the Amazon project faces five key challenges:

- **COVID-19**: Many of the activities planned for the most recent months of the project had to be modified or suspended because of the global pandemic. Significantly, in Colombia, a national advocacy tour featuring community representatives from remote villages in Vichada and Caquetá had to be cancelled. One of the project’s strengths has been its ability to serve as a bridge between national-level organizers and local communities, and the limitation of people’s movement because of pandemic quarantines and lockdowns is a massive challenge that must be taken into consideration when planning the next stages of the project, given the current uncertainty about the duration of the pandemic.

- **Corruption and weaknesses of public institutions**: Many of the project’s desired changes have not been achieved because of the corruption of public officials or the inability of institutions to enforce rulings. For example, as noted, Peru’s Regional Environmental Authority (Autoridad Regional Ambiental [ARA]), which fined Palmas del Huallaga for deforestation in San Martín, does not have the mechanisms in place to collect this fine. Similarly, Ocho Sur continues to operate without an environmental license in Ucayali, and to date has not been sanctioned. Making progress on these fronts is challenging: in Peru, political agendas have not prioritized social and environmental protection in the Amazon, and in Colombia, key public institutions like the Ministry of Agriculture and the National Land Agency are led by actors with known ties to the palm oil industry.

- **Gender dynamics**: Despite the intentional gender lens that Oxfam has applied across the project, in many cases, efforts to increase women’s participation have been stymied as a consequence of deep-rooted machismo in the Peruvian and Colombian cultures. For example, in Ucayali, the work conducted with FECONAU remains dominated by men, partly because the organization is mostly led by men and creates few opportunities for female participation.

- **Risk of reprisals against community members and implementing partners working at the local level**: As previously mentioned, efforts to defend community land rights, and the increased public awareness of the abuses and impacts of agribusinesses have not gone unnoticed by these
companies, which have attempted to muzzle or inhibit the communities and civil society organizations driving this work. Some interviewees reported that they have been followed and questioned by authorities or company personnel, and Paz y Esperanza’s office was broken into and all equipment stolen. In addition to these specific incidents, the current realities in both countries has led to a spike in the risks faced by environmental defenders over the past years.

- **Armed conflict in Colombia:** The current government of Colombia’s lack of interest in effectively implementing the 2016 peace accord with leftist Farc rebels has led to a reactivation of conflict in the country. Regions like Vichada and Caquetá are at the center of this conflict, which could make the work of the Protecting the Amazon project in these areas even more challenging.

Our study—particularly conversations with experts and project allies—has led to two main recommendations:

- **The project needs to strengthen work focused on the protection of environmental and land defenders:** Although the project has contributed to protecting environmental and land defenders (outcome 6), most interviewees agree that Oxfam and its allies should double down on this protection. The situation of defenders gets worse every year, and currently, the protection and support that is being offered is done mostly on a case-by-case basis and is little more than an overarching strategy—especially in the localities where the project is being implemented.

- **The project should include sharing experiences and lessons learned between Peru and Colombia,** and potentially with other countries in the future. When talking about the Protecting the Amazon project, it is fundamental to understand that its implementation looks very different in Peru from in Colombia, given the different country contexts. However, the project has delivered valuable lessons in both cases, and the work in both countries would benefit were comparative strengths shared more fluidly. For example, the gender expertise of the implementing team in Colombia would be of great value to Ucayali and San Martin in Peru, which face challenges regarding female participation, and the innovations developed by Peru in journalistic investigation and transparency could be an interesting space to explore in Colombia, particularly given that organizations like Convoca and OjoPúblico already have a transnational collaborative network in place.

The project has made significant contributions in multiple areas, and it has made progress toward social and environmental justice in Peru and Colombia. However, the problem of the socioenvironmental impacts of agribusinesses and monocrops is complex and massive in scale, and there is no project that could succeed in solving such an intricate problem or in creating long-term transformations in just three years. In contexts like those described, outcomes in many cases are associated with protection, prevention, and curbing of adverse
threats and changes. The big challenge when evaluating such achievements is that comparison is impossible, and we can only imagine, not know, what would have happened if Oxfam and its allies had not implemented their strategies. That said, it is likely that without the Protecting the Amazon project there would be more deforested hectares in the Amazon, more monocrop projects acquiring land in illegal ways, new ZIDRES projects in Colombia financed with public funds to benefit the private sector, less transparency regarding the operations of business groups and large-scale agribusiness, a less active and vigilant public sector, and more defenders vulnerable to the intimidation of companies and corrupt public officials.

The Protecting the Amazon project has done fundamental work to prevent such scenarios, especially in these times, which are characterized by a dramatic increase in violence against environmental and human rights defenders combined with the climate crisis. It is precisely owing to the urgency of these issues that projects like Protecting the Amazon must continue to exist, providing tools and building alliances with actors at the local, national, and international level.
APPENDIX

1. Publications of Juan Luis Dammert for the project


Dammert, Juan Luis. Hacia una ecología política de la palma aceitera en el Perú. Oxfam, 2015. https://peru.oxfam.org/sites/peru.oxfam.org/files/file_attachments/Hacia%20una%20ecolog%C3%ADa%20pol%C3%ADtica%20de%20la%20palma%20aceitera%20en%20el%20Per%C3%BA.pdf.

2. Investigative journalism stories

Convoca


OjoPúblico


3. Oxfam’s reports on land accumulation and inequality in Latin America and Colombia


Forty percent of the people on our planet—more than 2.5 billion—now live in poverty, struggling to survive on less than $2 a day. Oxfam America is an international relief and development organization working to change that. Together with individuals and local groups in more than 90 countries, Oxfam saves lives, helps people overcome poverty, and fights for social justice.

To join our efforts or learn more, go to www.oxfamamerica.org.