1. Background and Objectives

Much research on land and property in African towns and cities assumes that the state has both the duty and capacity to take on a major interventionist role in land management. It concentrates on documenting and explaining the failures (and more rarely successes) of state interventions. Despite their significant role in providing land for urban development, there has been relatively little recent in-depth research on the informal processes of land delivery that supply land for between half and seventy per cent of all new housing in African cities. As a result, the land policy and administration reforms on which many countries have embarked since the 1970s have been ill-informed and ineffective. To improve policy and practice, a better understanding is needed of how the informal systems through which half or more of urban residential land in African cities is delivered operate, are evolving and interact with formal land administration systems.

Informal systems for delivering and accessing land operate according to a variety of social rules that are understood and complied with by actors in the system. These were conceptualised as institutions that enable transactions to occur and regulate relations between actors. They have been documented for indigenous land tenure systems, generally with reference to the rural areas. However, indigenous land tenure arrangements change when they come face to face with the demands of urban growth. In urban areas, the social institutions that regulate transactions in land and relations between the actors involved are hybrids of formal and informal rules. One of the reasons for the failure of attempts to improve urban land administration has been their lack of understanding of the social rules governing how people act in partly commercialised informal land systems.

The aim of this study was to improve understanding of contemporary informal land delivery processes in six African cities and their relationships with formal land administrative systems. It analysed the characteristics of informal land markets and delivery systems

- To assess the strengths and weaknesses of alternative land delivery mechanisms, especially with respect to the extent to which they enable the poor and women to access land with secure tenure
- To increase understanding of the institutions that underpin and regulate transactions and are used to resolve disputes in land, and
- To identify and explore implications for policy.

2. Methods

Studies were undertaken in six cities. The criteria for selection of the cities are briefly explained, followed by a summary of the methodological approach adopted (for further detail, see Appendix 1).
Comparative research is complex because of the variety of factors that contribute to and explain differences. It was decided to hold one important factor constant – the principles on which the legal system is based. Therefore, the cities selected for study were all in Anglophone Africa, with imported legal systems based on English common law. In all of them informal land delivery systems are important, but they also typify different colonial and post-colonial policies, legal frameworks, governance arrangements and experiences. It was decided to avoid those countries where similar research was under way and the largest cities, partly because they have already been relatively well studied. Thus the research focused on six medium sized cities, some capitals of relatively small countries and others secondary cities.

The cities selected were

- Eldoret, Kenya (Rose Musyoka, Department of Physical Planning, Government of Kenya)
- Enugu, Nigeria (Dr Cosmas Uche Ikejiofor, Federal Ministry of Works and Housing, Gusau, Zamfara State)
- Gaborone, Botswana (Faustin Kalabamu, Department of Architecture and Planning, and Siamsang Morolong, Department of Law, University of Botswana)
- Kampala, Uganda (Dr Emmanuel Nkurunziza, Department of Surveying, Makerere University)
- Lusaka, Zambia (Dr Leonard Mulenga, Institute for Social and Economic Research, University of Zambia)
- Maseru, Lesotho (Dr Clement Leduka, Department of Geography, National University of Lesotho).

The aims of the project and the methodological approach were jointly developed by the researchers. A legal pluralist approach was adopted, drawing on ideas from a number of relevant areas of social theory (Rakodi and Leduka, 2003) (see Appendix 1). The hypotheses were that

- The success of informal land delivery systems in supplying land for urban residential development, including land for the poor, can be attributed to their practical attributes and their social legitimacy.
- As urban development proceeds, the informal institutions that regulate land transactions and use change over time, vary between residential areas and sometimes break down.
- The relations between disadvantaged groups seeking land and state agencies are likely to involve both conflict and accommodation.

Understanding of the attributes of informal land delivery systems that enable them to supply most land for residential development in contemporary African cities, the ways in which widely accepted social rules are changing and the circumstances in which accommodation rather than conflict occurs is potentially important in identifying workable improvements to urban land delivery systems.

The studies covered the following topics:

- The context for urban development, including socio-political and economic conditions, the legal and administrative framework for land administration and the actors in land development
- Land delivery systems, including the volume, types and regulation of land transactions in each delivery channel.

- The characteristics of those accessing land through the alternative delivery systems, in order to assess whether the channels identified did in the past and continue today to supply land to the urban poor and other disadvantaged groups, especially women.

- The authority structures, both those vested in the state and those associated with other social institutions, and their roles in land transactions and dispute resolution.

- The institutions regulating transactions and disputes in land.

- The effects of urbanisation pressures.

In each city, a city-level analysis was complemented by detailed studies in three informal settlements – a peripheral developing area, a partly consolidated area in which active subdivision and development was still under way, and a consolidated inner city area with a relatively high density, where pressures on land might be expected to produce a higher level of problems and disputes. A combination of quantitative and qualitative methods was used, drawing on both secondary sources and primary data collection. In each of the case study settlements, a sample survey of plotholders was carried out using a structured questionnaire. The survey was complemented by key informant interviews and a series of focus group discussions. Finally, each team enlisted the services of a lawyer to provide background on the legal system, land law and court cases. (For more detail see Appendix 1).

3. Findings

In each city, a number of channels through which land is delivered for residential use were identified and their strengths and weaknesses assessed using the following criteria:

i. **Scale**: has the channel delivered land in sufficient volume (and in appropriate locations) to meet the demand for housing land from a rapidly growing urban population, is it continuing to do so today?

ii. **Cost**: has the channel delivered housing plots at a cost that can be afforded by people seeking land for housing, especially those with middle or low incomes?

iii. **Security of tenure**: has the channel delivered plots with sufficient security of tenure to encourage owners to invest in housing? What are the threats to security and can owners deal with these threats and retain their rights?

iv. **Access to disadvantaged groups**: has the channel in the past and today delivered plots to poor households and women (whether they are heads of household or not)?

v. **Service provision**: has the delivery of land been accompanied by the provision of infrastructure and services?

vi. **Dispute resolution**: are there suitable means of dispute resolution available to those accessing land through each channel?

The main conclusions were that
i. Informal land delivery systems are in part a continuation of earlier ‘customary’ land administration practices and in part a response to the failures of the formal tenure and land administration systems. These failures include

- The limited scale of subdivision of publicly owned land, with a resulting limited supply of serviced plots, except in Gaborone. In addition, the scarcity of supply, standards adopted and eligibility criteria tended to limit the number of poor households who have obtained access to publicly provided plots. In some places, the law, criteria and allocation systems discriminate against women household heads.
- The low levels of compensation paid by government when it expropriates land
- Cumbersome and costly procedures, including those for obtaining a survey and title to land and approval for subdivision and construction.

ii. Informal systems of land delivery are the main channels of housing land supply. In the past, in many cities, they enabled all but the poorest to access land for self-managed house construction. Today, non-commercial channels for obtaining land are restricted and the vast majority of households who obtain land through informal channels purchase it. The plots are supplied through

- subdivision and sale of land held under customary tenure (Enugu, Gaborone, Maseru)
- subdivision and sale by owners and tenants of mailo land (Kampala)
- subdivision and sale by the shareholders in landbuying companies (Eldoret)
- semi-official subdivision and allocation or ‘sale’ by party and local government officials in and adjacent to regularised informal settlements (Lusaka).

These households are mostly headed by men. Women generally get access to land and property through marriage – for a married woman to have property in her own name is frowned upon because it is thought to indicate a troubled marriage. In older established areas, women property owners are more common, but are mostly widows who inherited the plot or house from their father or husband. Women with means are more able to access land through commercial than through customary or formal public channels. Overall, therefore, access to land is restricted very largely to households with the necessary financial means to purchase it. These are primarily middle and upper income households.

In the past, many relatively poor households (though not necessarily the poorest) were able to obtain plots through non-commercial channels, through membership of an indigenous landholding group, or squatting on publicly owned land and land abandoned by private owners. It is no longer possible for poor households to access land for new residential building, with a few, often minor, exceptions:

- membership of an indigenous landowning community (e.g. Enugu, Maseru)
- settlement in marginal or hazardous areas (e.g. wetland areas in Kampala)
- allocation of customary land by Tribal Land Boards or a serviced plot by government in Gaborone
- payment for informally subdivided land in instalments
- pooling resources to purchase a plot, for example in areas subdivided by landbuying companies in Eldoret
- some local residents (usually those with good political connections) in and adjacent to regularised informal settlements in Lusaka.
iii. For many new households in contemporary African cities, especially the poor, the only way of becoming the owner of a plot on which to build a house is through subdivision or inheritance of a parent’s plot. To retain this option, few plot holders sell or subdivide the plots on which they live unless they have to. In the most densely settled areas, few descendants of current plot owners will be able to access urban property through subdivision or inheritance. In practice, most poor households are tenants.

iv. Informal land delivery processes are often effective in delivering land for housing, because of their user-friendly characteristics and social legitimacy.

- The user-friendly characteristics include simple procedures, speed, reliance on local actors living within residential settlements (customary and political leaders, neighbours etc), self-production of simple documents, and use of the local language (e.g. in customary dispute resolution).

- Social legitimacy derives from the widely understood and accepted social institutions that regulate transactions in these informal systems. These institutions are generally derived from customary institutions, but have evolved over time. In some instances, they have been recognised and adapted by the state (e.g. Tribal Land Boards in Gaborone, the Buganda Land Board in Kampala). Often, the institutions used by non-state actors (e.g. the indigenous landowning communities in Enugu, chiefs in Maseru, landbuying companies in Eldoret) have borrowed from and mimic formal rules and procedures. Sometimes, they take advantage of ambiguities and inconsistencies in formal rules. In other cases, direct rule and the expropriation of land around settlements from indigenous communities by colonial governments have displaced customary institutions and alternatives have been substituted (e.g. Local Councils in Kampala, party and local government structures in Lusaka). They may still be influenced by social rules derived from customary land practices in rural areas.

v. Urban growth and development increase the pressure on such social institutions, and in some cases, they weaken and break down, leading to increased tenure insecurity.

- Although there was evidence of disputes arising from multiple sales, boundary problems and disagreements over inheritance in all the case study cities, these had affected only a small minority of all plot holders and in most of the cities studied there was no evidence of an upward trend in the incidence of disputes. Often, informal mechanisms (such as the use of local leaders or customary courts) are preferred and successful in resolving such disputes.

- Where land market actors feel insecure, they may seek to use formal institutions to protect their rights and investments, for example, by obtaining title, as in Enugu or Eldoret. In some instances they may prefer the certainty of the formal court system and its ability to enforce decisions for resolving disputes, although the costs, need to employ a lawyer, unfamiliar technical language and delays deter many.

- The extent to which formal legal and administrative systems recognise and work with or resist informal practices varies between cities and over time.
Often, the formal courts do recognise informal evidence of transactions, such as letters of agreement and oral testimony. Public sector professionals are generally quite resistant to adapting formal law, planning standards and administrative systems to fit with the realities of urban development, although there are examples of where they have done so either explicitly (as in the Zambian legislation for informal settlement regularisation) or implicitly (for example, Eldoret de facto recognises informal subdivisions in order to tax plot holders).

**Policy implications**

i. Informal land delivery systems play a significant and effective role in urban residential land delivery in African cities and so should be tolerated and accommodated. Their strengths should be recognised and built on. However, their shortcomings should also be identified and addressed.

ii. To encourage investment in both owner-occupied and rental housing, the tenure security available to those who access land through informal delivery channels should be enhanced. In some circumstances, this may imply individual titling, but wholesale titling is often not appropriate, for three main reasons:

- Titling massively increases the value of urban land, making it even less accessible to low-income groups
- There is rarely capacity in the formal regulatory system to adjudicate, survey and register large numbers of individual titles. Rather than issuing titles to a minority of landholders, the resources available should be used more strategically, to guide urban development
- Owner-occupiers are unlikely to mortgage their homes in order to release the capital tied up in property for other purposes. The reasons include the absence of developed financial systems, as well as the priority households give to livelihood security and their desire to bequeath urban property to their successors.

In many countries, alternatives to universal individual plot titles are already available under existing legislation.

Threats to security often arise from government action, especially evictions.

- Governments should provide basic short-term security to residents in informal settlements and, in the vast majority of cases, should cease to evict settlers and demolish houses
- Security can be enhanced by public sector agencies accepting innovations in procedures and documentation that have emerged in informal systems, because these are popularly understood, widely accepted, cheap and procedurally simple.

The tenure security of married women may be threatened by unilateral sale of the property by husbands, divorce or widowhood. Providing for spouses to formally agree to property sales and ownership documents to be in the names of both partners in a marriage is part of the solution. However, this needs to be tackled through matrimonial law and changing social attitudes as much as through land and property law and regulations.
iii. The poor layouts and inadequate services that often characterise informal settlements can be addressed by recognising such areas, paving the way for working with subdividers and sellers to improve layouts and enabling the early provision of basic services.

iv. As well as making it possible to charge users for services, the registration of occupiers enables local governments to generate tax revenue.

v. To build on the strengths and address the weaknesses of informal delivery systems in varying local contexts, the formal land administration system should be decentralised, in particular to provide for local registration of land rights and transactions.

vi. Revised compensation provisions are needed, requiring government to pay adequate and fair compensation when it expropriates land for public purposes from private or customary rights holders. This would
   • Deter premature informal subdivision intended to preempt arbitrary and under-compensated expropriation (e.g. Enugu and Maseru)
   • Improve the operation of some state-led subdivision and allocation processes (e.g. the operations of Land Boards in Gaborone)
   • Increase the ability of governments to fulfil public sector goals, such as providing land for infrastructure or industry, without antagonising local land rights holders (e.g. Enugu)
   • Enable governments to increase the supply of serviced land for low-income housing.

4. Dissemination

Findings and policy issues were discussed at workshops in each of the cities, to obtain feedback from relevant stakeholders and make a contribution to current debates about land policy and administration in each of the countries studied (with the exception of Zambia, where the failure of the local team to complete the work prevented the holding of a local workshop). DFID country offices were invited to send representatives but none did so. In Uganda, the research received television coverage at the time of the workshop. The research teams generally identified some of the policy implications of their findings rather than making detailed recommendations, because the researchers all believe that policy formulation and legislative change should be negotiated processes involving all the stakeholders in land management. Following the workshops, full reports of the studies and policy briefs were published (see Appendix 2).

Kalabamu was a member of the Botswana Land Commission during the life of the project, and the researchers in Lesotho, Nigeria and Kenya have all (by invitation) made presentations to committees and departments engaged in land policy review processes, in addition to the policy workshops.

Findings have been disseminated at international workshops and conferences in Johannesburg, Nairobi, Toronto, Chicago, Switzerland, Barcelona and London (Appendix 3). At the Royal African Society/IIED conference on “Land Rights in Africa” in London and the first workshop in Johannesburg (organised by the project in conjunction with a part-DFID funded project on “Neo-customary land tenure in African cities” and the University of the Witwatersrand), DFID representatives were present.
Papers have been accepted for publication in two international journals (Ikejiofor) and an edited book (Nkurunziza), and have been submitted for two further journals (Leduka, Ikejifor).

Rakodi has been invited to present findings at the World Bank Urban Research Symposium in April 2005 in Brazil (separately funded). Articles will be submitted to the Commonwealth Association of Planners newsletter, Oxfam’s Land Rights in Africa website and DFID’s “Urbanisation”, as well as id21. Finally, an academic publication (book or special issue of a journal) is planned.
Appendix 1  Methodology

Criteria for selection of case study cities

Even within countries, the circumstances in different cities vary. International comparisons are even more complex, because of the enormous variation in the characteristics of cities, their land markets and their administrative arrangements. In order to make it possible to draw conclusions from comparative analysis, it is desirable to hold some factors relatively constant. In this research, it was considered that one such critical factor was the principles on which the formal legal system is based and is was, therefore, decided to select cities from Anglophone Africa. These included cities from eastern, southern and west Africa, but excluded cities where recent or current research on related issues was already under way.

The cities are located in countries with different colonial policies with respect to land and urban development, arising in part from whether a system of direct or indirect rule was adopted. They also represented countries with very different post-colonial economic and land policies. These varied from free-market oriented Kenya to heavily state-led Botswana and Zambia, and included countries which had been subject to military or single party rule in the period since independence (Nigeria, Zambia, Kenya, Lesotho) as well as a country which had been a multi-party democracy throughout (Botswana).

Some had attempted to nationalise land and introduce other reforms in the 1970s (although many of these reforms had subsequently been reversed) and some had not. The governance arrangements at both national and local level, including the role of traditional authorities, varied between the countries and the responsibilities for urban land delivery, regulation and tenure registration were differently allocated between government levels and agencies.

It was decided to avoid the largest cities, partly because they have already been relatively well studied, partly because their very active property markets are not necessarily typical of cities in general, and partly because researching land in situations where land issues are highly politicised is difficult. Thus the research focused on six medium sized cities, some capitals of relatively small countries, and others secondary cities. They were

- Eldoret in Kenya
- Kampala in Uganda
- Enugu in Nigeria
- Gaborone in Botswana
- Maseru in Lesotho
- Lusaka in Zambia

The conceptual framework for the research was based on legal pluralism, in which non-statutory law and custom, as well as social relations between actors in informal land delivery systems, were given equal status with state law and organisations (Rakodi and Leduka, 2003). It focused on the predominant contemporary processes of land delivery and not merely the weaknesses of public land administration, drawing on insights from three types of social analysis:

- structure and agency (which admits that even apparently powerless social groups have resources that permitting them to actively engage with powerful social groups and the state)
- analysis of institutions (social norms and rules governing market and other relationships between social actors)
• analysis of the tactics used by relatively powerless social groups in their interactions with more powerful social actors and the state (such as non-compliance)

The starting hypotheses for the research were drawn from the literature reviewed during development of the conceptual framework and the findings of related research, especially in Dar es Salaam. Three hypotheses were identified

• The success of informal land delivery systems in supplying between a half and seventy per cent of all land for urban residential development, including land for the poor, can be attributed to their practical attributes and their social legitimacy. The practical attributes, it was suggested, make the arrangements more suited to the needs of urban land rights holders and those seeking land for housing, including the poor, while wide understanding and acceptance of the social rules governing relations between actors in the system serve to secure wider compliance than is common for formal land regulation.

• As urban development proceeds, the informal institutions that regulate land transactions and use change over time, vary between residential areas and sometimes break down. The pressures generated by urban property markets and increased demand result in changes in traditional social institutions in order to make them more suited to the circumstances of urban areas.

• The relations between disadvantaged groups seeking land and state agencies are likely to involve both conflict and accommodation. A distinction needs to be made between cases where non-compliance leads to conflict and where it leads to accommodation, identifying the reasons for these different reactions. In their interactions, both state and non-state actors may adhere to the formal rules of state law and regulation, but may also be influenced by informal social norms and ways of regulating transactions.

The local research teams studied

• The context for urban development, including socio-political and economic conditions, the legal and administrative framework for land administration and the actors in land development

• Land delivery systems, including the volume, types and regulation of land transactions in each delivery channel. Although the research focussed on informal land delivery, formal systems were also investigated (mainly using secondary sources). It is well known that, although the performance of formal land delivery systems is variable, they have often not delivered land with appropriate characteristics and in sufficient volumes to meet the demand for housing land. A review of their effectiveness was, however, felt to be necessary as a basis for comparison with informal delivery channels. Moreover, there is often no clear division between formal and informal systems.

• The characteristics of those accessing land through the alternative delivery systems, in order to assess whether the channels identified did in the past and continue today to supply land to the urban poor and other disadvantaged groups, especially women.

• The authority structures, both those vested in the state and those associated with other social institutions, and their roles in land transactions and dispute resolution.
• The institutions regulating transactions and disputes in land, including an assessment of the extent to which these function well and are legitimate in the eyes of actors in land delivery.

• The effects of urbanisation pressures on land market operation and regulation, and the extent to which the channels through which most land is delivered for residential use can be relied on to continue to meet the demand for secure tenure in appropriate locations as urban growth proceeds.

In each city, a city-level analysis was conducted using a common set of research questions, agreed at a methodological workshop held in Lesotho in July 2002. This was complemented by detailed studies in three informal settlements – a peripheral developing area, a partly consolidated area in which active subdivision and development was still under way, and a consolidated inner city area with a relatively high density, where pressures on land might be expected to produce a higher level of problems and disputes. The selection was based on local consultations and the researchers’ own knowledge of the city. A combination of quantitative and qualitative methods was used.

**Questionnaire survey of plotholders**
In each of the case study settlements, a sample survey of plotholders was carried out using a structured questionnaire. The aim was to select a random sample of approximately 100 plotholders in each area. The detailed sampling procedure varied with local circumstances, for example, the layout of the area, the existence of maps or lists of plots/buildings, and the availability of local leaders/residents able to act as guides. Sometimes, the availability of a map and lists of plots made it possible to define clusters and randomly select plots within the clusters. More often, however, a more pragmatic approach had to be adopted. In some of the smaller study areas, all the plots were included. The proportion of absentee owners varied. Attempts were made to interview absentee owners at their place of residence but this was not always possible.

In one case, the initial selection of an area had to be changed because evictions by the state nearby made residents unwilling to participate in a survey. Elsewhere, suspicion of the purpose of the research was alleviated by the researchers maintaining their neutrality vis a vis public sector organisations and careful selection of entry points. Entry was through the lowest level of the administrative hierarchy, as well as traditional leaders where appropriate. In each case the team of research assistants included at least one woman, although in none of the case study cities were the social constraints on male interviewers interviewing women respondents on this topic serious.

A draft questionnaire was discussed at the methodological workshop, piloted in each city and revised. Generally, the final design was satisfactory, although complex questions of inheritance and the ways in which women’s access to land and property changes with their marital status proved difficult to deal with in a structured questionnaire. Because the project did not have the resources to collect detailed income and expenditure data from respondent households in order to classify them into poor and non-poor, it was decided to collect information on suitable proxy indicators. In some countries, information on locally appropriate proxy indicators was available from other research, but not in all the countries. Also, indicators that were appropriate in one country (e.g. number of cooked meals per day) were not suitable in others. The project permitted the collection of information at one point in time, but the data collection had to rely quite heavily on retrospective questions. Collection of
this information is complicated by recall problems and changes in marital status and household composition, and its analysis by inflation etc. The questionnaires were analysed by the local research teams using SPSS Version 10 and some further analysis carried out in Birmingham.

**Qualitative methods**

The survey was complemented by key informant interviews and a series of focus group discussions. Semi-structured interviews were carried out with

- A selection of respondents in the sample survey, in order to collect life histories and views about land related issues (typically 20-30)
- Local leaders and long-term residents
- Officials in relevant local and central government agencies
- Private sector land market actors e.g. estate agents, surveyors.

Focus group discussions were used to clarify the role and opinions of particular groups. At least one was held in each case study settlement. In several instances, separate FGDs of men and women were held, and in some cases, groups with other land market actors (e.g. land brokers in Enugu). Usually a mixture of languages was used (the local language and English), depending on the preferences of the group participants. A transcript and/or notes were kept for each discussion.

Finally, each team enlisted the services of a lawyer to provide background on the legal system, land law and court cases. The latter were selected because of

- their relevance to understanding urban land issues in general
- the understanding they provided of how disputes are settled, including examples of cases initially dealt with through informal or customary mechanisms.
Appendix 2  Publications

The working papers and policy briefs are available in printed form and are also downloadable from the project website http://www.idd.bham.ac.uk/research/researchprojs.htm


**Papers** based on the project have been submitted to various academic outlets:

C. Ikejiofor:
“Land issues in the new national housing policy for Nigeria: lessons from research experience” to *International Development Planning Review* (accepted for publication)

“The new national housing policy for Nigeria: context and challenges” to *Urban Studies*

“Equity in informal land delivery: insights from Enugu, Nigeria” to *Land Use Policy* (accepted for publication)

E. Nkurunziza:

R.C. Leduka:
“The city where people grow houses: deconstructing the myth of peri-urbanisation in Lesotho”, *South-South Journal of Culture and Development* (accepted for publication)
Appendix 3  International dissemination

Johannesburg:

- Rakodi and Leduka presented findings to a workshop on “Land for Housing in SSA Cities: Changing Customary/Traditional/Informal Systems of Delivery”, University of the Witwatersrand, 18th February, 2004. Nkurunziza, Musyoka and Ikejiofor also attended. Approximately 50 people attended, mostly from S African national and local government agencies, in addition to representatives of Maseru City Council DFID, NGOs and academic institutions.


Other international dissemination: C Rakodi was invited to present findings from the project at the following conferences:

- Housing and Built Environment Research Committee of the International Sociological Association in Toronto, 24-27 June, 2004
- “City Futures” at the University of Illinois in Chicago 8-10 July, 2004
- “Sustainability and Urban Growth in Developing Countries” organised by the DIMSUD project (Designing, Implementing and Measuring Sustainable Urban Development in Developing Countries) in Ascona, Switzerland 31 Oct-3 Nov, 2004
- The Expert Group Meeting on Secure Land Tenure: New Legal Frameworks and Tools, organized by UN-HABITAT and the International Federation of Surveyors in Nairobi 9-11 November, 2004
- Workshop on “Adjudication of Land Disputes, Legal Pluralism and the Protection of Land Rights in Ghana and Cote d’Ivoire” held at the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, London on 17-18 February, 2005 (with E Nkurunziza)