

Pathways for Ensuring Access to Assets: Land Tenure Reform and Beyond

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Abstract

While land reform programs are being considered and implemented in many African countries, there is growing recognition that legislation on land reform alone does not guarantee secure access to property, especially for women. This project will examine how people gain secure access to assets, including land, and how the patterns differ for women and men. We will examine how the formal legal frameworks and social norms, including marital and inheritance patterns, shape the access of individuals to land and other assets. Collecting both community tenure profiles and household and intrahousehold survey data from Liberia and Uganda will provide an opportunity to analyze these relationships and draw policy lessons. Liberia is facing increasing pressure, both domestic and international, to resolve land tenure issues that have emerged after years of civil war. Uganda legislated land reform in 1998 and the government and NGOs are involved in implementation activities. Community tenure profiles for Liberia will provide important information for the land reform process, while the analyses from Uganda will provide information on how the administrative implementation procedures affect women's and men's access to land. The study will be undertaken jointly by researchers from the United States, Uganda, and Liberia.

Research Narrative

For many African countries, the 1990s marked the beginning of a wave of land tenure reform. Recognizing the importance of secure land tenure institutions in creating incentives for agricultural production, sustainable land management and broader investment opportunities, countries in eastern, southern and West Africa have reauthorized or passed new legislation. Some countries have further specified rules and procedures for strengthening women's rights and access to land.

The recent land reforms in Africa have clearly demonstrated that legislation alone does not create property rights. The translation of policies and ideas into practice remains a legitimate concern. While substantive and procedural reforms of the law are important, they are clearly not sufficient to guarantee secure tenure. Land reform programs rarely adequately address issues of common property, focusing instead on titling programs. But both private and common property are important to livelihoods. In addition, the formal legal systems interact with customary systems and social norms (Meinzen-Dick and Pradhan, 2001). In particular, women's access to assets is conditioned by marital regimes (community property or separation of property within marriage) and inheritance regimes in both the legal and customary domains (Deere and Doss, 2006a and b). Thus, it is critical to examine property rights in this broader context.

While land is a key asset for rural people, it must be considered in the context of a broader range of assets. Some assets may substitute for access to land, providing opportunities for people to engage in business or nonfarm productive activities. Other assets may be necessary complements to land, since to access and retain land requires other investments (Meinzen-Dick et al., 2002; Onyango et al, forthcoming).

The focus of this project is on understanding how people gain secure access to assets, including land, and how the patterns of access differ for women and men. Even when women have legal access to assets and are aware of their legal rights, they may choose not to claim their assets, preferring instead to conform to social norms that suggest that women are not property owners. Understanding what factors allow women to claim the assets to which they are formally entitled is one of the key issues in this project.

Uganda and Liberia provide case studies at two very different points in the land reform process. In 1998, Uganda passed the Uganda Land Act, legislating land reform. The implementation of the land act has varied across the country, providing us with the opportunity to analyze how different administrative and other implementation activities have had an impact on the effects of the land reform. Liberia is emerging from 26 years of conflict with land reform high on the agenda of the newly-elected government and international donors. Yet the information currently available about land tenure security or asset ownership among rural people is totally inadequate as a basis for developing secure tenure systems. Conflict has marked the development of both Uganda and Liberia. Uganda has now had close to 20 years of reconstructing its human, economic and institutional capacity following six years of civil war in the early to mid-1980s. While the specific nature of the conflicts may vary, there is great opportunity for drawing policy lessons between the two countries.

This research will advance collaboration between Yale University (Cheryl Doss), the International Food Policy Research Institute (Ruth Meinzen-Dick and Esther Mwangi), University of Liberia (Jeanette Carter), and Makerere University in Uganda (Gorette Nabanoga and Imelda Nalukenge). It will analyze the social, economic and institutional barriers that women face in accessing and controlling assets, including land. It will also assess the interactions

among various assets and provide concrete suggestions of how to improve policy and practice to enhance women's access to and control over assets for better development outcomes.

Research on policy implementation in developing countries is very limited. While this may reflect the general declining trend on implementation issues in general public policy studies (Lester and Goggin, 1998), it also reflects a broader and untested assumption that the implementation process in developing countries differs substantially from that in developed countries (Puppim de Oliveira, 2002). Nonetheless there has been substantial effort to understand 'successful' policy implementation, i.e. to understand what makes a policy work even in a context that seems adverse (Grindle, 1998; Tandler, 1997).

Uganda exhibits a diversity of land tenure systems, ranging from private, individual to communal and common property to state land, and a coexistence of customary and statutory systems that is prevalent across Africa. In addition, women's rights to land are primarily determined through their relationships to males—a feature that is widespread in Africa and one that has engendered considerable insecurity for women as societies and activities are increasingly integrating into markets. The 1998 Land Act contained some provisions to strengthen tenure security and women's rights. These provisions include a consent clause that requires spousal consent prior to any land transactions, certificates of customary tenure and occupancy that recognize the rights of long term occupants of public and *mailo* land, and a land fund to facilitate customary occupants to obtain certificates (Hunt, 2004). In addition, the Land Act provided for a major decentralization of land management and administration, shifting responsibility for land management, administration and dispute resolution of non public lands to District Land boards, local Land Committees and District Tribunals (Nsamba-Gayiiya, 2005). Even though the Land Act preceded the land policy, a land strategic plan was drawn up to guide implementation. To

date, 45 District Land Boards and 56 District Land Tribunals have been established, regulations for operationalizing the Land Act have been passed by Parliament, senior staff has been recruited to operationalize the District Land Tribunals, procedural rules for Land Tribunals have been developed and most Tribunals are fully operational (Bruce, 2006). In addition, the Uganda Land Alliance, a consortium of national and international NGOs, has set up a series of regional land information centers to provide legal literacy training and technical advice to enable poor women, men, children and other marginalized groups to know and claim their rights. The centers also provide access to avenues for dispute resolution. We will thus examine the extent to which local Land Boards, Community Land Registries, legal literacy programs, as well as other initiatives by government and NGOs, have increased tenure security for women, outlining primary constraints to these innovations and suggesting possible solutions.

Liberia's civil war seriously exacerbated problems of land tenure. Throughout the country, there are many conflicting claims to property at all levels from individual lots to plantations. In several areas, especially Nimba and Lofa, members of the Mandingo ethnic group fled to neighboring countries, essentially abandoning rural and urban properties. In their absence, local residents of other ethnic groups have claimed these properties, claiming that they were fraudulently obtained. Now that the refugees are returning, the potential for conflict is extremely high as people attempt to reclaim what they consider to be rightfully theirs.

Another aspect of the land issue in Liberia is generational. "War in Liberia reflects a long-term agrarian crisis based on inter-generational tensions and the failure of rural institutions. Addressing the roots of the crisis requires changes to institutional frameworks, including marriage and land reform." (Richards et al., 2005). Many young people of rural backgrounds perceive that, under the customary system of tenure, they do not have secure access to land that

would enable them to build secure livelihoods. “At present marginalized youth in Liberia (including ex-combatants) see only a choice between rural dependency, including plantation work, in which their labor is highly exploited, and the freedom of life in the urban areas.” (Richards et al., 2005). Tenure reform and settling the disputes over land are critical parts of the peace process and rebuilding of the economy, and are high priorities for the government. Securing the rights of women and youth are also key objectives of the government, necessary for rebuilding peace and prosperity. However, there are multiple land tenure regimes, deriving from multiple ethnic groups’ customary practices as well as titling programs. They differ across agroecological zone and land use. Simply passing legislation or establishing high-level tribunals is unlikely to make a lasting difference on the ground. What is needed is information on existing tenure patterns, how they vary across the country, and how they are viewed by different ethnic groups and government ministries. Conflict resolution mechanisms are more likely to be effective if they build upon functioning local mechanisms, as well as an understanding of the history of such institutions and why they may have continued or ceased to function. This proposed research would begin to provide this critical information, as well as build the capacity of the University of Liberia to undertake such research on an ongoing and expanded basis.

Uganda’s experiences in implementing its Land Act can provide valuable lessons for Liberia as it develops and implements a land law and policy. At present, laws that govern land in Liberia include the Public Lands Law of 1956, An Act to Amend the Property Law of 1974, and the Laws Governing the Hinterland. Some interventions are currently underway that have implications for land tenure. The extent to which the Act to Govern the Devolution of Estates and Establish the Rights of Inheritance for Spouses of Both Statutory and Customary Marriages of 2003 has fostered some security for women’s property rights needs further consideration

(Richards and Bah, 2006). Moreover, sectoral reform processes (e.g. forest reform law of 2006) have been widely criticized for neglecting broader land tenure questions such as securing communities' rights, which are fundamental to resettlement and reintegration following the extended period of conflict.

Background/State of Research

This project's focus on strengthening women's access to land and other assets is well founded. Access to land plays an important role in alleviating rural poverty both directly and indirectly. Directly, land can be a source of income, insurance and collateral for obtaining financial and non-financial services. Indirectly, land is a source of social status and bargaining power. Recent work comparing the size of land holdings across income terciles and quartiles in Tanzania found that across all of the villages studied, the highest income quartile owned over twice the amount of land owned by the lowest income quartile (Ellis and Mdoe, 2003). Several other longitudinal studies using income and/or expenditure capture the welfare enhancing capability of land in different settings in Latin America and Africa (Scott, 2000; Gunning et al, 2000; Grootaert et al, 1997). While these accounts were able to isolate the welfare effects of land amongst a broad range of assets including education, labor, livestock, machinery, transfers and over a broad range of household level and environmental shocks, the interactions of land – including both individual and common property – with these assets needs further understanding. Early attempts at fleshing out these interactions in Mexico by Finan, Sadoulet and De Janvry (2005) shows that household characteristics, complementary assets, and contextual circumstances greatly influence the welfare generating potential of land. For example, one ha of land can be sufficient to escape poverty for households living in villages with access to a paved road, in large part because Mexican farm households are engaged in off-farm activities that

complement incomes derived from land. Recent studies in South Africa demonstrate that land restitution and redistribution programs have done little to contribute to poverty reduction (Bradstock, 2005). Instead, access to the labor market for rich households and access to social grants for poor households remain key to avoiding poverty. Recent work is also highlighting the potential interaction between land, other physical assets, and other assets much more broadly defined to include access to education, information and institutions in reducing poverty (Moser, 2006).

IFPRI research in Ghana shows that gender differences in property rights hinder natural resource management and that gifts/transfers of land to women improve cocoa productivity (Quisumbing et al, 1999). Related studies have shown that agricultural productivity could increase by 10-20% if women had access to the same range of inputs (education, fertilizer, labor) as men (Alderman, 1996; Udry, 1996). And Doss and Morris (2001) attribute differences in adoption of improved maize technologies in Ghana between women in male- and female-headed households to the differences in access to other inputs. Similarly, increasing women's education and social networks has positive impacts on poverty relative to other factors (Datt and Joliffe, 1998; Datt, Simler and Mukherjee, 1999). Enhancing women's outcomes has further positive effects on investments in girls' education and health as well as on overall child nutrition (Hallman, 2000; Quisumbing and Maluccio, 2000; Quisumbing and de la Brerre, 2000; Smith and Haddad, 2000). Women's ownership of assets may also affect the outcomes of household decisions; in Ghana, expenditure patterns differed based on the share of assets owned by women in the household (Doss 2006). In the context of a burgeoning HIV/AIDS epidemic, securing women's property and inheritance rights can promote women's economic security and thus reduce their vulnerability to domestic violence, unsafe sex and other AIDS-related risk factors

(Bhatla et al., 2006; Gillespie and Kadiyala 2005, Human Rights Watch, 2005). However, conventional titling programs have, in many cases, decreased rather than increased women's tenure security by strengthening the claims of men without recognizing the rights women have had over land under customary systems (Lastarria-Cornhiel 1997; Mwangi forthcoming). On the other hand, piecemeal interventions intended to remedy women's eroding land rights have often inadvertently contributed to this erosion (Howard and Nabanoga, 2005).

It is critical to look at women's access to land and other assets both at the individual and the household level. Evidence suggests that women's ownership of assets within the household affects the outcomes of household decisions. This is true when considering both the share of assets currently owned by the women (Doss 2006) and the assets that women brought to marriage (Quisumbing and Maluccio, 2000). In addition, one of the important sources of economic vulnerability for women is the potential dissolution of their household, through divorce or their husband's death. Depending on the marital and inheritance regimes, women may lose access to all of their husband's assets.

While the research cited above demonstrate the value of disaggregated and gendered analysis of land and other assets for targeted policy, there is still scope for further analysis at the intrahousehold level, to flesh out the relative contributions of the different assets to well being and in particular to assess the effects of enabling policies and laws. Overall there is need to understand the conditions under which secure land access can enhance women's livelihoods and well being. Such conditions clearly include a role for policies and laws and their enforcement, but also for the underlying asset structure and distribution within the household, and the links between private and common property. Such an approach to women's assets is expected to provide the basis for integrated policy packages as opposed to isolated, piecemeal reforms.

The principal goal of this study is to identify the social, economic and institutional factors that facilitate or impede women's access and control over land and other assets. Its aim is to contribute to a nuanced understanding of the complement of policies and practices, by multiple actors, including women, and at multiple levels, that can circumvent these barriers. The following specific questions will be investigated:

1. How do people gain access to assets? How do the patterns of access differ for women and men? How secure is this access?
2. Under what conditions are women able to successfully claim assets to which they are entitled both customarily and through law? Under what conditions are they unsuccessful?
3. How can policy and practice be modified to ensure that first, women's assets are secured and second, that they can exploit the assets at their disposal for maximum gain, both in the short run and the long run?

Proposed Research Methodology

We propose to work at multiple levels: national, community, household and individual. The research framework will not only allow for an analysis of property rights at these different levels, but will also allow us to analyze the relationships among these different levels.

We will collect national level data on the formal legal regimes and the enforcement mechanisms for property rights for both men and women. In Uganda, this will include information about the land reform process and the national goals for implementation. In Liberia, this will focus on the current systems in place and potential national government level mechanisms for land reform, as well as how customary systems are perceived at the national and local levels. At the national level, the main question to be answered is the extent to which

strategies and actions that would meet the goals of land tenure reform (e.g. enhancing security and access for women) have been addressed. Semi-structured interviews will be conducted with selected senior government officials from the principal ministries mandated with land and natural resource management. Members of the judiciary and relevant legislators who have responsibilities for land issues will be interviewed. Because of the heavy involvement of NGOs and donor agencies in public policy processes in both countries, we will also interview these actors to find out their activities supporting implementation, their relative successes and how they coordinate with government agencies.

In the first year, in both countries, we will collect community level data through both focus groups and key informant interviews. Site selection will be stratified by land tenure system, while the focus groups will be stratified by gender and wealth. The key informant interviews will use a semi-structured format. These community tenure profiles will address questions of community land tenure systems, the assets and access to resources (such as education, extension, labor, credit, government services, etc.) at the community level, and the types of land disputes that have been occurring locally, their intensity and how they have been resolved.

In Liberia, much of the critical basic baseline data on land tenure systems is not available, and what is available focuses on titled land. The Comprehensive Food Security and Nutrition Survey in 2006 found that 66% of rural households reported having access to land. Of these, 67% reported that access was based on “traditional tenure” and that they did not have deeds. Deeds were held by 20% of households, while 10% described themselves as squatters (CFSNS 2006, p. 31). The survey also found that “female-headed households have statistically significantly less access to land than their male counterparts (56% versus 68%) and they were

also less likely to have cultivated crops in 2005 (65% versus 74%)” (CFSNS, 2006). Thus, information compiled at the community level will feed directly into the policy process through reports to the Governance Reform Commission. In Uganda, where we already have some basic information, we will concentrate on understanding the process of the land reform implementation at the community level, including both ongoing government programs as well as innovative pilot programs by NGOs under the Uganda Land Alliance.

Finally, a survey will be fielded that will address issues of asset accumulation at the household and individual level. We will interview the household head and up to four other members of selected households. Because women do not necessarily have legal or social claim to the assets owned by their husbands, we cannot understand whether women have secure access to assets simply by looking at the household level. However, if we only look at the individual level, we will miss the interactions that occur within households. Women may derive some benefits when their husbands own assets, even if these benefits are less than they would be if the women owned the assets themselves.

In these household surveys, we will ask basic demographic questions, including those on education, incomes and sources of livelihoods. In addition, we will ask about assets – how they were acquired, who controls and manages them, whether there have been any disputes over them, the security of claims to these assets, and whether any have been disposed of recently. We will also ask whether they are aware of the legal rights of men and women on asset ownership.

The household surveys will build on two related strands of work that are already being undertaken by the US-based collaborators. Ruth Meinzen-Dick and Esther Mwangi have been working to develop indicators of tenure security for common property and methods for identifying a range of individual, household, group, and public property at the local level.

Cheryl Doss is working on a separate project with Dr. Caren Grown and Dr. Carmen Diana Deere to develop survey modules to collect sex-disaggregated data on assets. These modules will include individual-level information on asset ownership, acquisition and disposal of assets, and on the broader marital and inheritance regimes that affect asset ownership. A short version of the module is being designed for incorporation into the World Bank LSMS surveys, while a more comprehensive template will be appropriate as a basis for smaller sample studies, such as these. Dr. Grown will be available for consultation during the field work and will collaborate on the data analysis as part of their broader project on the gender-asset gap.

We will be able to compare the patterns of assets acquisition reported by individuals with the social norms that are reported at the community level. This will help to identify the extent to which social norms constrain women's access to assets and the circumstances under which women are able to access assets, even when their doing so goes against the social norms.

In Uganda, the study will be carried out in the Central and Western regions. In Central Uganda (Buganda area) all the four major land tenure regimes (i.e. communal, *mailo*, leasehold and freehold) exist and communities are primarily sedentary cultivators. The western region (Ankole and Kibale) is mainly agro-pastoral with a similar tenure structure and some conflict in the implementation of the government's Land Fund. Within these regions, sites will be selected to cover the implementation of government programs as well pilot activities of the Uganda Land Alliance, taking into account ethnicity, agroecological conditions, and market access.¹

In Liberia, we will develop the sampling frame based on the outcome of the community tenure profiles. Without any community level baseline information, we will do more community level tenure profiles to feed immediately into the policy making process and to provide the basis

¹ Although randomized allocation of programs would provide a stronger basis for assessing the impact of these activities, that is not possible in the present case because these programs have already begun.

for the household and individual surveys. We will then pilot a household/individual level survey in a limited number of communities, with sample selection based on the mapping exercise being undertaken for the forthcoming national census. In selecting sites, the project will collaborate with the Sustainable Tree Crops Project being implemented by IITA with USAID funding in Nimba and Bong Counties, with expansion scheduled for Lofa County. The study sites will complement sites being studied by the Rights and Resources Initiative's forest tenure analysis. Additional funding will be sought to extend these surveys into a greater number of areas.

In the final year of the project, we will return to the sites of the community tenure profiles to discuss our findings. In addition, we will provide training to the communities on issues of land rights and dispute resolution.

Policy relevance

Land tenure and strengthening women's access to critical assets are high on the policy agenda at the national, regional, and global agenda. The research is designed to feed into policymaking at all three levels.

Uganda's 1998 Land Act was intended to address poverty alleviation, agricultural development, gender equality, protection of the environment, and decentralization of government (Hunt 2004). It went beyond conventional titling programs to include innovations such as certificates of customary tenure, protection of the rights of dependents (including women and children), land tribunals at the sub-county and district levels, and a land fund to support customary tenants to secure land rights. However, a number of civil society groups have criticized the law for not going far enough to secure women's land rights (e.g. by joint titling), and for not having the resources for full implementation. By studying the implementation

processes and pilot initiatives by NGOs and their impacts and discussing the findings with both government and the organizations in the Uganda Land Alliance, this research can contribute to improved programs on the ground to secure land rights of the poor, particularly of women.

In Liberia, the policy demand for this research is even stronger, as both the government and donor organizations are pushing for land tenure reform. Land issues cross-cut several government ministries and agencies, including the Ministries of Lands, Mines & Energy, Agriculture, Internal Affairs, and Justice and the Forestry Development Authority (FDA). In addition, Liberia's Governance Reform Commission, which was created through an Executive Order upon President Sirleaf's inauguration in 2006, is about to start broad consultations to create a land reform commission. Several inquiries into land issues are being launched by international partners including the World Bank, USAID, and IUCN. USAID has been involved in supporting land tenure initiatives particularly in the forestry sector, but there is little information about the state of tenure across different types of land uses as well as between areas with existing freehold title and customary tenure under diverse ethnic groups. The findings of the research will be provided directly to the Governance Reform Commission, the USAID mission, and other intergovernmental and civil society organizations engaged in land tenure issues.

Strengthening democracy and governance is an objective shared by both Liberia and Uganda USAID Missions and land tenure remains a critical governance concern. Land tenure and other assets are also critical for securing livelihoods, another important pillar of USAID's work in both countries. We will provide insights into decision making processes and actors, and identify ways by which women can be more effectively incorporated in decision making. However, we will also address ways in which current practices can be coordinated across relevant actors and structures (e.g. local land board, district authorities concerned with land,

NGOs, dispute resolution bodies, etc) to increase the likelihood of improving service provision to women. As mentioned earlier, land and other assets provide the basis for agricultural and economic development in Africa. By focusing on women, the project addresses the needs of a significant portion of the population whose productivity has been largely undermined due to a lack of secure access. We will provide insights into how these assets can work together to improve rural women's welfare and enhance their capacity to contribute to the rural economy, thus addressing strategic objectives that are concerned with enhancing rural economic growth.

Finally, Liberia's reintegration process cannot be separated from land tenure issues. During the long years of conflict, most Liberians were displaced at least once. Eighty-six percent of surveyed rural households reported displacement (CFSNS 2006). Several hundred thousand were internally displaced, while a similar number were refugees in the region. An undetermined number of Liberians continue in the diaspora, primarily in the United States. Many refugees are now returning home to claim properties which appeared to have been abandoned. Approximately 103,000 combatants were registered during the disarmament and demobilization process. While many of these have indicated that they are not interested in agriculture or other rural-based livelihoods, in reality the economy is unlikely within the near future to provide other opportunities. Currently, approximately one-quarter to one-third of the population is concentrated in the capital city of Monrovia, many of whom are without gainful employment. Moreover, many returnees and former combatants are being resettled. By mapping out the specific tenure system and the range of claims that exist on different pieces of land, our study will contribute to this process, and provide information that can serve to deflect potential conflict, especially in Nimba and Lofa where the situation is especially volatile.

In addition to direct contributions in these two countries, the research will feed into broader regional and international policy initiatives on land tenure. The importance of women's control over assets is reflected in five of the eight United Nations Millennium Development Goals. None of these goals can be fully achieved without addressing gender disparities in rights to resources. In 2006, the African Union began broad consultations to develop a regional framework policy that will coordinate the content and process of land tenure reforms currently underway in many African countries. Its fundamental goal is to improve the security of tenure of a wide range of actors to enhance equity of access, food security/agricultural production and land related investments. Security of access for vulnerable actors is placed at a premium, especially for women whose rights are particularly vulnerable due to discriminating cultural practices, law and policy as well as the spread of HIV/AIDS. For many women across the continent, access to land has become increasingly insecure due also to the rising demands for land, from tensions stemming from increasing competition for this valuable resource and from armed and violent conflict. Improved understandings of specific ways in which policies, laws and practices can actually improve women's access, welfare and wellbeing, and the constraints to these can feed into the region wide process led by the African Union. IFPRI and its collaborators have been working closely with the African Union, the Economic Commission for Africa, the United Nations Development Programs Drylands Development Center and others in developing the regional framework policy and are currently providing input into its content and procedures.

IFPRI is also a core member of the International Land Coalition, a group of intergovernmental and civil society organizations (including Uganda Land Alliance) advocating stronger land rights for poor people, and serves on the advisory committee of the associated Women's Land Rights Initiative. Cheryl Doss is on the Advisory Group for the Gender

Mechanism Workshop for the Global Land Tools Network hosted by the Huairou Commission. All of these programs recognize that property rights entail much more than formally registered rights and their administration, and are seeking ways to understand the complex array of rights regimes and the legal processes required to secure rights and assets for the poor, and particularly for women. Our involvement in these platforms provides a link between the key questions of policymakers and the findings from this proposed research.

Because a significant part of this research investigates processes and outcomes of reforms that are aimed at securing women's land rights, it will provide insights into the necessary conditions at multiple levels (national, community, household), including private and common property. These insights will be useful for informing ongoing efforts at identifying appropriate indicators of land tenure security by the Millennium Challenge Corporation and the World Bank.

Several aspects of the proposed research make it particularly valuable to international policy discussions on land tenure. These include: the focus on women's land rights, the exploration of a range of mechanisms besides titling as a means of securing tenure, attention to the links between private and common property, and a focus on the interaction among assets. Moreover, because Uganda and Liberia are at two points in post-conflict recovery, the experiences of these countries can be valuable to other fragile states and those recovering from violent conflict.

Capacity Building

In Liberia, the University of Liberia, the only government institution of higher learning, is struggling to rebuild after years of war. The university currently enrolls approximately 16,000 students on three campuses in Monrovia and its suburbs. Infrastructure at these campuses was

badly damaged during the conflict and is still being rehabilitated. The university's human resources were adversely affected by the conflict as many faculty, Liberian and expatriate, fled the country. Few have returned. During the years of conflict, there were few opportunities for graduate study. Consequently, the university is overly-reliant upon instruction by first-degree holders. Teaching materials and resources are limited. Some of the faculty are not computer literate and there is, as yet, no university wide internet access. During the years of conflict, the environment was not conducive for academic research. The task of rebuilding the Research Institute, an autonomous unit within the university, is being led by Dr. Jeanette Carter. The Institute is interdisciplinary with links to all colleges and programs. The capacity building component of this project will be designed explicitly to meet the needs of the rebuilding this institute so that it can be involved in the policy process in Liberia. While there is a need to train students, a more pressing need is to build the capacity of the faculty. Those faculty holding post-graduate degrees require short-term training opportunities to upgrade their knowledge and skills. First degree holders require study for master's degrees. Thus strengthening the faculty requires that they gain training as students at higher levels. Training is also needed for new programs, e.g. community forestry. The project will provide opportunities for faculty to conduct the community studies and surveys, while also providing research opportunities for students. Suitable Yale University students will be sought to take part in these studies and work with the Liberian faculty and students. The proposed research will also contribute to developing a more relevant and up-to-date curriculum in the social sciences, agriculture and forestry, and law.

In Uganda, there is greater capacity at Makerere University. We will take advantage of this by developing exchanges and workshops between collaborators in Uganda and Liberia. Uganda has experience in beginning to implement land reform and also in rebuilding the

university after years of conflict. In Uganda, we will focus on building capacity in the areas of intrahousehold analysis, gender analysis, and analysis of assets. At least three students will be involved in each country in the community tenure profiles and surveys and at least one Yale student will work as a Research Assistant on the project. In addition, we will provide Ph.D. training for one student from Liberia and one from Uganda. (If more appropriate given the students, we will train two at the MA level instead of one at the Ph.D. level.)

In Uganda, Makerere University has gone a long way towards rebuilding its research and training capacity in the wake of conflict. Hence, the South-South partnership between Makerere University and University of Liberia can provide insights for rebuilding such capacity in Liberia. There has been considerable research on land tenure in Uganda, but much of this has not addressed gender issues, particularly in quantitative survey research. The proposed project would help to bridge this gap, and build capacity for intrahousehold research in Uganda. Students at Makerere would be engaged in conducting the field research and working on their theses based on this project.

As indicated earlier in the proposal, the Uganda Land Alliance (ULA) is involved in literacy campaigns and alternative dispute resolution programs in order to help women to know their rights, to claim them and to enforce them. By considering how land interacts with other assets (e.g. social, political, physical) our research will highlight additional factors both within and beyond the household that may serve as barriers to women's land tenure security, and provide possible ways that ULA may modify its programs to take these barriers into account.

We will take advantage of the linkages with Yale in one of two ways. We will assist top candidates in applying to MA programs in International Relations (with a focus on development studies) or the School of Forestry and Environmental Studies. The other way to take advantage

of these linkages will be to invite faculty members from the collaborating universities to spend one semester at Yale as a visiting fellow.

The collaboration with IFPRI will provide a channel for students and faculty from both Liberia and Uganda to participate in IFPRI workshops and conferences, and in the CGIAR system-wide program on Collective Action and Property Rights, a community of practice that includes researchers and practitioners at over 500 national and international organizations. CAPRI training materials will be adapted for use in the project training programs.

Partners and Collaboration:

While this proposal represents the first time that all individuals involved have worked on a project together, many of us have been working collaboratively for years. IFPRI has been working with Makerere University on the SANREM-CRSP project that is assessing the implications of forest decentralization reforms on local level property rights, gendered access and livelihoods. In addition, IFPRI has links with Amos Sawyer, the chair of the Liberian Governance Reform Commission and Professor at Indiana University. Amos Sawyer was formerly a professor and Dean of Liberia College at the University of Liberia and Dr. Carter has worked closely with him for many years. Cheryl Doss has spent time at IFPRI as a visitor and has collaborated with many people there. In addition, Cheryl Doss and Jeanette Carter initially met when they were both working in Liberia in 1987-88.

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Anticipated Outputs

In order to reach both academic and policy audiences at the national and international levels, this research will produce a range of outputs, including:

Research methodologies

- Protocol for community tenure profiles to identify gendered tenure patterns “on the ground”
- Adaptation of survey methods for intrahousehold analysis of gendered control over assets

Datasets

- Intrahousehold data sets, cleaned and documented, will be shared with other project partners and made available for students and other researchers after project team has conducted analysis.
- Relevant literature will be compiled into a bibliographic database.

Academic presentations

- American Agricultural Economics Association (AAEA) annual meetings
- International Association of Agricultural Economics (IAAE) triennial meetings, 2009
- International Association for Feminist Economists (IAFFE) annual meetings
- International Association for the Study of the Commons Biennial meeting, 2008
- CGIAR System-wide Program on Collective Action and Property Rights (CAPRI) workshop on conflict and land tenure, 2008
- IFPRI seminars
- Yale Development Policy Seminar
- University of Liberia seminars
- Makerere University seminars

Student theses

- Theses at both Makerere and the University of Liberia.

Academic publications

- Submission of at least 4 journal articles

Direct reports on findings

- Written reports on land tenure profiles
- Presentations to government and USAID offices in Uganda and Liberia
- Policy Round-Tables: Two in Liberia and two in Uganda
- Present findings at Uganda Land Alliance Meetings and Liberian Governance Reform Commission meetings
- Feedback to communities that participated in community tenure profiles; Training on land rights and dispute resolution approaches.

Reports of findings at international policy fora

- International Land Coalition meetings
- African Union Land Tenure Initiative
- Women's Land Rights Initiative

Practitioners' guides

For this project to have significant impact on policies and programs, the research findings need to be communicated in accessible, understandable terms to its ultimate users—policymakers and technical personnel in multilateral or bilateral aid agencies, nongovernmental organizations, and developing-country governments (e.g. Quisumbing and McClafferty 2006). The project will produce practitioners' guides for both Liberia and Uganda that present the key research findings

in the framework of project and policy cycles in accessible language that allows the readers to take the research from analysis to action.

Policy briefs

Although rigorous peer reviewed publications are important for ensuring quality control over findings and reaching the international academic community, we have also found that policy briefs that present the findings in a shorter format that can be understood by a wider audience is important to reach many policy audiences. This project will produce at least 6 policy briefs, modeled after the successful CAPRI policy briefs.

Benchmarks

Liberian and Ugandan students trained in data collection at community and national levels
(12/2007)

Bibliographic database on land and resource tenure in Uganda and Liberia developed (3/2008)

Report on land tenure patterns in Liberia presented to Governance Reform Commission (6/2008)

Report on impact of land tenure policies in Uganda presented to ULA and others (6/2008)

Policy briefs based on community tenure profiles in Liberia and Uganda (6/2008)

Biennial Policy Round Tables in Liberia and Uganda (6/2008 and 6/2010)

Liberian and Ugandan students trained in data collection at household and intrahousehold levels
(12/2009)

Household survey data collection complete (3/2009)

Two faculty spend semester at Yale University (or two students obtain MA degrees from Yale
(3/2010)

Feedback provided to communities that participated in the surveys; Appropriate training on land rights issues and conflict resolution provided (3/2010)

Four analytical papers examining women's access to assets in Liberia and Uganda submitted to journals (12/2010)

Two practitioners' guides drafted (12/2010)

Two students trained at Ph.D. level (or 4 at MA level.) (3/2011)

Data sets made available through IFPRI's web site (3/2011)

Final report submitted (3/2011)

Budget Narrative

Yale University

- PI Cheryl Doss' time is covered by matching funds
- One graduate student Research Assistant per year is requested to collaborate on analysis
Opportunities will be sought for Yale students to collaborate on field work
- International airfares and per diem are for travel to Liberia and Uganda
- Domestic airfares and per diem are for meeting with IFPRI collaborators and attending BASIS AMA project meetings
- Non-degree training provision in Year 3 is for collaborators from Uganda and Liberia to spend time at Yale for analysis and write-up, and to interact with other Yale faculty and students
- Computer hardware/software funds are requested to purchase 4 laptop computers—
Two each for University of Liberia and Makerere University

- Other equipment funds are requested to purchase a digital camera, video camera, voice recorders and GPS units for University of Liberia and a similar set of equipment for Makerere University
- Matching funds will also fund Cheryl Doss to present papers at academic meetings, including International Association of Agricultural Economists, International Association of Feminist Economists, and the American Agricultural Economics Association, among others

IFPRI

- The majority of PI Ruth Meinzen-Dick's time is covered by matching funds
- Salary coverage is requested for 1 month of Esther Mwangi's time per year.
- Matching funds will cover travel expenses to present research findings at CAPRI workshop on conflict management and at IASC meeting in 2008
- International airfares and per diem are for travel to Liberia and Uganda
- Domestic airfares and per diem are for meeting with Yale collaborators and attending BASIS AMA project meetings

University of Liberia

- Personnel costs include time for senior faculty (PI Jeanette Carter) as well as junior faculty and students to conduct the field work and analysis
- International air travel and per diems are for travel to the BASIS AMA project meetings plus travel to Uganda for a joint project meeting and for possible graduate student travel to Makerere University

- Domestic travel (vehicle hire and per diems) are for the community tenure profiles in year 1, for household survey in year 2, and for visits back to communities in year 3. The University does not have a vehicle at the project's disposal, so it must be hired.
- Training expenses include training students on community tenure profiles (year 1) and household surveys (year 2) plus policy roundtables (years 2 and 4)
- Degree training costs include one Ph.D. or two MA students to study at Makerere University.
- Computer hardware/Communications includes purchase of a modem and sharing of an internet line with another project

Makerere University

- Personnel costs include time for senior faculty (PI Gorettie Nabanoga and Imelda Nalukenge) as well as stipend for a graduate student who will be involved in the field work and analysis
- International air travel and per diems are for travel to the BASIS AMA project meetings plus travel to Liberia for a joint project meetings
- Domestic travel (vehicle hire and per diems) are for the community tenure profiles in year 1, for household survey in year 2, and for visits back to communities in year 3. The University does not have a vehicle at the project's disposal, so it must be hired.
- Training expenses include training students on community tenure profiles (year 1) and household surveys (year 2) plus policy roundtables (years 2 and 4)

Summary of Researchers' Qualifications

US-Based Researchers

Cheryl Doss (Principal Investigator) has a Ph.D. in Applied Economics from the University of Minnesota. Her current position is the Director of Graduate Studies for the MA program in International Relations at Yale University, where she is also a Lecturer in Economics. Her research has focused on gender and intrahousehold issues, especially around issues of risk and household decision-making, agricultural technology, and women's access to assets. She has worked extensively with CGIAR centers, including CIMMYT and ICARDA. In addition, she has consulted with the World Bank and UNDP. She lived and worked in Liberia in 1987-88 and has also been involved in research in Kenya, Ethiopia, Ghana and Syria. She has published extensively in economics and agricultural economics journals.

Ruth Meinzen-Dick is a Senior Research Fellow at the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI), based in Washington DC. She is Coordinator of the CGIAR System-wide Program on Collective Action and Property Rights (CAPRI), and leader of IFPRI's Gender Task Force. She is a Development Sociologist who received her MSc and PhD degrees from Cornell University. Much of her work has been interdisciplinary research on water policy, local organizations, property rights, gender analysis, and the impact of agricultural research on poverty. She has conducted field work in Pakistan, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Zimbabwe, Kenya, and India, where she was born and raised. She has published over 70 journal articles or book chapters, and 10 book or monographs, including *Innovation in Natural Resource Management: The Role of Property Rights and Collective Action in Developing Countries*, and *Negotiating Water Rights*.

Esther Mwangi is a postdoctoral fellow at IFPRI and she works with CAPRI to coordinate a global project exploring the roles of institutions of collective action and property rights in rural poverty reduction. She received her PhD in Public Policy from Indiana University, Bloomington. Her Masters and Bachelors degrees were in the Biological Sciences from Moi and Kenyatta Universities in Kenya. Having worked with the Kenya Wildlife Service as a research scientist, Esther has considerable experience in wildlife and biodiversity conservation. Her recent research work has focused on land/resource tenure challenges including impacts of tenure reform processes on distributional equity and ecological sustainability in drylands and forest settings.

Caren Grown is a Senior Scholar at The Levy Economics Institute of Bard College. Her current research focuses on gender equality, assets and women's well-being, public finance, and international trade. Previously, Dr. Grown directed the Poverty Reduction and Economic Governance team at the International Center for Research on Women (ICRW). From 1992-2001, she was a Senior Program Officer at the John D. and Catherine MacArthur Foundation in Chicago, Illinois, where she managed research networks and competitions on a wide range of economic, governance, and population issues. She has edited and authored several books and numerous articles on gender equality, development, and macroeconomics. Her most recent books are *The Feminist Economics of Trade*, co-edited with Diane Elson and Irene Van Staveren (Routledge 2007) and *Trading Women's Health and Rights: The Role of Trade Liberalization and Development*, co-edited with Elissa Braunstein and Anju Malhotra (Zed Books 2006). She holds a PhD in economics from the New School for Social Research and a BA in Political Science from the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA).

Developing Country Collaborators

Makerere University

Gorettie Nsubuga Nabanoga holds a PhD from Wageningen Agricultural University- The Netherlands. She specialized in gender and natural resources management with emphasis on gendered rights to natural resources and participatory research approaches. She has vast experience in participatory approaches to community development and local livelihoods improvement, indigenous knowledge and traditional resources management practices, gender issues in natural resource management and participatory resource conservation. She has undertaken collaborative research with Ford Foundation, EU, GEF, ICRAF, UFRIC and worked in a multi and inter-disciplinary teams to:- conduct research on socio-economic and institutional changes relating to biodiversity, use and management of forest resources in East Africa; assess the contribution of selected forest foods to poverty alleviation and household food security in Uganda; resource rights and open forests degradation processes in Uganda and build capacity for natural resources conservation for sustainable livelihoods at local government levels in Uganda. She has participated in the development and training of trainers for the Strategic Forest Management Planning Process for the EU-Project. She is also involved in students' research supervision and various training and outreach activities.

Imelda Nalukenge holds a Ph.D. in Agricultural Economics from the Ohio State University. She specializes in development issues. She has undertaken collaborative research with the FAO and worked in a multi-disciplinary team to assess the economic potential of environmental service incentives in the rural setting of Uganda. Other collaborative tasks include undertaking a trade-off analysis and characterizing farming systems in the poor rural areas of Uganda. Imelda has recently secured an EU grant to undertake research aimed at assessing the impact of trade

policies and trade institutions on the profitability of agricultural marketing in Uganda. She is involved in various other research tasks, training, and outreach activities.

University of Liberia

Jeanette Carter, Co-Director of the Institute for Research at the University of Liberia, holds a Ph.D. in Anthropology from the University of Oregon. Her research in Liberia has focused on several aspects of socioeconomic change, including household organization, the roles and status of Liberian women, management practices in the agricultural sector, and the adoption of lowland rice cultivation. Prior to the civil conflict in Liberia she was on the faculty of the University of Liberia. During and after the civil conflict she worked for several humanitarian organizations in Liberia. In this work, she was directly involved in formulating and implementing policies and programs to assist Liberians affected by the conflict. She has recently returned to the University of Liberia to work with faculty to rebuild and strengthen the Institute for Research. Priority will be given to research projects that will assist the Government of Liberia and its partners formulate and implement policies, including the Governance Reform Commission, Forest Development Authority, and the Ministry of Agriculture. She has traveled and worked extensively throughout Liberia since 1967. In addition to the anthropological perspective, she also brings a historical perspective on the past several decades in Liberia. She has also conducted research for the World Bank in The Gambia and has worked in Zambia on refugee issues.

