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**LAND MARKETS AND INTRA-HOUSEHOLD ACCESS TO RESOURCES AND
INCOME OPPORTUNITIES, RESEARCH METHODOLOGY:**

**THE CASE OF NON-TRADITIONAL EXPORT
CROPS IN THE GAMBIA**

by

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9 August 1993

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**Land Markets and Intra-household Access to Resources and
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The Case of Non-Traditional Export Crops in The Gambia

Introduction

The peri-urban areas of Banjul and Serekunda in The Gambia share many of the characteristics common to Africa's metropolitan regions. Urban farming and horticulture, by commercial units and smallholders, are providing important sources of growth in agricultural output and exports. Informal trade, particularly of vegetables, fruits and sundries, is flourishing. Customary mechanisms of land allocation by the Akalos in villages are giving way to a robust market of land rentals, purchases and sales, mainly of residential property, in rural and urban areas. The physical urban frontier is expanding rapidly, and through the land market, is rapidly transforming agricultural lands into sprawling compounds, and villages into suburbs. High rents and land scarcity in Banjul and Serekunda are driving urbanites to seek land in more remote peri-urban villages, while migrants from up-river and abroad, especially young males, are seeking land in the peri-urban area for housing, wage employment, and business opportunities, or to escape hardships elsewhere. Rural areas at the peri-urban periphery are being rapidly integrated into the urban marketplace, while the cities are being "ruralized" by those uprooted by drought, war (the Casamance, Liberia, and Mauritania), and the rural economic decline.

With a large tourist industry, a deep water seaport, and the Gambia river stretching through the heart of Senegal, The Gambia would seemingly hold considerable advantages in capturing value-added revenue from trade and services. Yet, if such advantages exist, they are not reflected in aggregate comparisons of production and income between it and its African neighbors. Its population of 875 thousand earned only \$260/capita GNP in 1990 compared with \$340/capita for Sub-Saharan Africa as a whole (World Bank 1992, 218, 285). GNP/capita grew only 0.7 percent (0.2 percent for Sub-Saharan Africa) on average over the period 1965-90 (ibid.). Food production per capita declined at an average annual rate of -13.1 percent over the period 1975-80, but grew modestly (2.8 percent) over the period 1980-85 (World Bank 1989, 154).² Although food production has been outpacing that of Sub-Saharan Africa as a whole (-1.4 percent, 1975-80), its population continues to grow rapidly (3.2

1. Population growth of Banjul was 12.8 percent over the period 1973-83 and -4.0 percent over the period 1983-93. Serekunda's growth rate, as indicated for Kanifing, was 157.6 percent and 125.6 percent, respectively, over the same two periods, indicating an enormous rate of population expansion in the peri-urban areas (1993 Population Census).

2. The World Development Report (aside from basic indicators which are reported for all countries) publishes data only for countries with one or more million population. Recent data on food production, consumption and trade for The Gambia are not reported.

percent/annum) and 15.5 thousand metric tons (3-year average, 1986-88) of food aid imports were still recently required to maintain food security (ibid., 4, 154, 158). Groundnuts exports, once the mainstay of the rural cash economy, declined at an average annual rate of -15.2 percent over the period 1975-80, and -3.0 percent over the period of 1980-85. After a low of 12,787 metric tons exported in 1985, exports spiked to 22,950 tons in 1987, before reportedly plummeting again in recent years (ibid. 61).³ Despite major economic reforms taken by the Gambian government, gains in agricultural productivity have been slow in coming.

Recent government and donor policy has begun to emphasize export diversification, in particular fruit, vegetables and flowers, to enhance economic growth in the agricultural sector. Donor and private investment in irrigation perimeters ("schemes") has helped to expand smallholder horticultural opportunities. With their favorable access to urban and tourist markets, airport facilities for shipment to overseas markets, and access to agricultural inputs through the port, the peri-urban areas should be well positioned to take advantage of the income growth generated by "non-traditional" exports.

Although the expansion of horticultural production and marketing opportunities is very real, important questions remain unanswered about sustainable growth in the sector. Are institutional rigidities, characterized by highly inelastic supply of land, labor and capital constraining horticultural output and employment, or are these institutions satisfying other important needs and goals in the community, including equity and land security? Has the income growth been concentrated among a few households and companies or is it broad-based (both inter- and intra-household)? Has the growth been gender neutral or biased? Does the current administration of land by Alkalos confer inadequate long-term rights for land improving investment (tree crops)? Is the customary land tenure system constraining productivity, incomes, and capital investment? Are high transaction costs in the land market resulting in an unacceptably low rate of people moving into, or exiting agriculture, in response to changing economic conditions and land use? These and other questions provide the focus of the peri-urban land market study.

Peri-Urban Project

The peri-urban project, comprises the cooperative agreements of the Institute for Development Anthropology (IDA), the Land Tenure Center (LTC), and Ohio State University (OSU). A research program of 5 interrelated studies was implemented beginning in January 1993 to examine the operation of factor markets in the Banjul and Serekunda peri-urban areas, and to diagnose and evaluate potential factor-market constraints to agricultural output and employment, particularly in the horticultural sector. These studies include:

3. These official data do not take into account the cross-border trade in groundnuts with Senegal. In recent years, net exports to Senegal have been positive due to the over-valued CFA, and more favorable Senegalese groundnut prices.

- (A) a three village survey of inter- and intra-household production, employment, income, resource use, land transfers, land rights, and horticultural marketing (undertaken jointly by IDA and LTC);
- (B) a survey of commercial land transactions involving land purchasers and sellers (LTC);
- (C) a survey of vegetable traders and institutional consumers (hotels, restaurants) (IDA);
- (D) a financial market survey of informal savings and lending groups (Kafos, Osusus) (OSU); and
- (E) a case study of large horticultural export firms (IDA, OSU) and communal smallholder vegetable schemes (IDA).

These studies collectively take a multi-faceted look at the operation of factor markets underpinning production and trade in the horticultural sub-sector, and the vertical and horizontal integration of agents involved in the production and marketing of horticultural goods.

The household production survey (A) is aimed at assessing inter- and intra-household issues of market access, and factor market constraints to investment in land improving technologies (trees, irrigation) and production. The survey is highly disaggregated by plot, gender, crop and livestock enterprise, and type of employment. Although the horticultural sector receives some special attention, the study is designed to permit a variety of highly disaggregated, multi-purpose analyses.

The land market survey (B) is designed to complement the study of land rights and customary mechanisms of land allocation under study (A) by examining land purchases and sales in the peri-urban area, distributional impacts, determinants of land price as a basis for assessing formal credit expansion via collateral enhancement, transactions costs, and security of land rights.

The vegetable trader survey (C) is designed to complement the analysis of vegetable production and marketing at the producer level under study (A), by examining choice of markets, marketing costs from farm-gate to export wholesale and domestic retail levels of demand, and trader employment and incomes.

The credit survey (D) seeks to evaluate the financial needs of vegetable traders, their credit sources, informal savings and lending operations by Osusus and Kafos in the villages associated with study (A), and credit constraints.

The case study of large commercial farms in (E), employs a case study approach to collect information about earnings, employment, factor market constraints, and problems with horticultural marketings and exports. Large commercial horticultural farms, based on early reconnaissance work, were reluctant to provide detailed data on cost, revenues and marketings, requiring that a case study methodology be employed instead.

IDA and OSU will expand elsewhere on their descriptions of research methodology associated with studies (C, D and E). The purpose of this paper is

to describe the research methodology employed in studies (A) and (B), including research hypotheses, survey design, and survey instruments, along with results of preliminary reconnaissance work.

LTC Land Market Research Program

Efficiency is normally defined in terms of resource allocation within a fixed structure of costs--both transactional and technological. The technological change literature speaks to changes in the technological environment lowering costs, while the institutional change literature speaks to changes in institutions that affect transaction costs. Transaction costs in turn represent payments for services rendered, search costs in finding agents involved in the transaction, costs of negotiating contracts, and costs of monitoring contracts including moral hazard. A study of transactions costs must also identify the services (valuable or fraudulent) being rendered. Policies aimed at reducing transactions costs require both an assessment of services foregone, and a comparison with the costs and services associated with feasible alternatives. Since efficiency is defined in terms of prices being given, institutional changes that reduce costs improve productivity, but not efficiency. Beyond productivity concerns, there are also fundamental questions about intra-household constraints to production, and intra-household welfare effects from growth in the horticultural sector.

The LTC component of the research program seeks to evaluate the possibility that traditional land market institutions and uncertain land rights, are constraining agricultural productivity, and that the benefits and costs of horticultural production are not shared "equally" among households and individuals within the community. Two specific studies comprising the LTC research component, collect detailed data on land rights and production at the gender-specific and plot levels to address these concerns:

- (A) Household production study (HPS); and,
- (B) Land market study (LMS).

Both studies deal with land transactions, but differently. Land transfers in the three villages covered by the HPS will tend to be dominated by inheritances, gifts, borrowings, rentals, and claims through spontaneous settlement. The second study (LMS) focuses on a sample of purchasers and sellers of landed property, hence will capture land purchases and sales which will be under-represented in the three village sample. Land purchases usually involve urban or residential development (transfer of residence, or acquisition of agricultural land for housing construction or mixed residential/agricultural use). The HPS thus emphasizes more traditional processes of land acquisition and transfer, and the household is the primary unit of observation. The LMS specifically targets land purchasers and sellers; the principle unit of observation is the plot transferred, and the buyer and seller involved in the transfer, not the household.

Scheduling

A preliminary reconnaissance trip in June 1992, and a planning trip in November 1992, provided researchers with the opportunity to meet government

officials, carry out reconnaissance work in peri-urban villages, visit commercial farms, arrange local collaborators, budget costs, and obtain USAID mission funding (Little and Roth 1992). Upon the basis of these planning trips, studies (A,B,C,E) above were identified by IDA and LTC (OSU's design activity followed at a later date). After extensively visiting potential research sites for the HPS, the decision was made to focus the field work in three sites and four villages--Sinchu Baliya, Sinchu Alhaji, Pirang, and Sanyang--on the basis of criteria identified shortly.

The organization and scheduling of field work required a careful balancing of two competing activities: (1) the vegetable season, January through March, required that the HPS, trader and credit studies be implemented immediately to ensure that data collection corresponded as closely as possible to the time of horticultural production and marketing activities (February-April); and (2) the heavy emphasis on field work and the limited number of enumerators and Gambian researchers available required that the work be staggered to minimize excessive demands on the limited personnel available. Sub-sector studies (C,D,E) by IDA and OSU were thus carried out January to April 1993. LTC took the lead on designing the HPS (with assistance of IDA) in January and February, followed by survey implementation March through May 1993. The LMS study (B), not being dependent on the agricultural season was postponed until after the first set of studies neared completion; its research design was developed in February, the field instruments in May, followed by field implementation June to mid-August 1993.

Household Study of Production, Income, Resource Use, and Land Rights

Research Area

For purposes of the study, the peri-urban area of Banjul was defined as the northern- and western-most section of Western Division as far out as Pirang village in East Kombo District and Sanyang village in Kombo South District, excluding the urban areas of Banjul and Serekunda (Little and Roth 1992). It comprises an area roughly triangular in shape extending from Cape Point (the northern most point and urban center) to Sanyang village in the southwest, and to Pirang village in the south east. The district capital, Brikama, lies about midway on the line between Sanyang and Pirang, and is roughly 26 kms by air from Cape Point. The line running from Cape Point south through Serekunda to Welingara marks an area of dense urban settlement and commerce. The village of Sinchu Baliya, at the border with Welingara (and Sinchu Alhaji several further kilometers onward), marks the beginning of a very dynamic band of rapid population settlement, sprawl of semi-finished cement foundations and newly finished compounds, and intense land competition between housing and farming. About 15 km of rural landscape then separates Sinchu from Sanyang (by air) and 18 kms separates Sinchu from Pirang.

Village Selection

Repeated reconnaissance visits over three separate missions were made to the survey villages, and others, before deciding upon final site selection. During each visit (June 1992, October/November 1992 and February/March 1993), villages throughout the peri-urban zone were visited, and interviews were held

with women in garden schemes, land holders in fields, government officials in both regional and national offices, managers of large horticultural export firms, and the Alkalos in each of the HPS villages. A listing was undertaken in February 1993 to determine the population of households in each survey village with preliminary questions on use of formal credit, possession of leasehold property, agricultural land use, and Kafo membership (see Annex A for listing). Random sampling techniques were then used to select 40 households in each village cluster for further study.

Interviews were held with the Alkalos in each of the three villages (two Alkalos for Sinchu, one for Sinchu Baliya, a second for Sinchu Alhaji) using a structured interview format to help obtain comparable information about settlement history, land tenure arrangements, economic livelihood and change, importance of horticulture, and the role of indigenous institutions (Osusus, Kafos, womens' groups, and donor schemes) in the village (Annex B). All three villages have access to garden plots, but each has different characteristics regarding its proximity to the urban fringe, transportation costs, rate of settlement, population densities, and land availability (see Figure 1). The selection of villages crudely represents a continuum spanning different degrees of market access and land scarcity. At one end is Sanyang with relatively low resident/land ratios, few land ownership conflicts, and far proximity from urban markets. At the opposite end is Sinchu (Baliya and Alhaji) with relatively high resident/land ratios, rapid population settlement, and close proximity to urban markets.

Research Setting⁴

Sinchu Alhaji was settled 28 years ago, Sinchu Baliya 60 years ago, Sanyang 75 years ago, and Pirang in even older times. In each instance, the village was founded by one individual or family in an area of forest or dense brush, followed shortly by a number of other migrant families. These "founding families" continue to maintain long-term ownership claims to the land in all village sites. Later arrivals borrowed land from the Alkalos or the founding families.

The two Sinchu villages lie at the outskirts of Serekunda. Sanyang and Pirang are of nearly equal distance from Serekunda, but a paved road connects Pirang, and a laterite road connects Sanyang. Newcomers from Banjul and Serekunda, from up-river and abroad, are contacting the Alkalos in all villages seeking land, very heavily so in Sinchu, and less so in Pirang. Land may be allocated by the Alkalo or "founding" families, but the Alkalo's consent must be obtained for any transaction, and his involvement is required in any dispute. A tribute of "kola nuts" is offered to the "owners" of the land, largely as a symbolic gesture, but cash rents have recently emerged in Sinchu and Pirang. Agricultural lands are not leased, rented, bought, or sold to any significant extent in any site. The land must be returned at the season's end, although some families have borrowed the same piece of land for decades. Residential property is now traded actively in Sinchu, less so in Pirang, and not at all in Sanyang.

4. This section is based on structured interviews with the Alkalos in Sinchu Alhaji, Sinchu Baliya, Pirang and Sanyang (Annex B), and reconnaissance interviews with farmers and officials throughout the research area.

Figure 1:

Survey Design, Household Production Survey

	Sinchu	Pirang	Sanyang
No. households in village (from listing)	?	?	?
No. households surveyed	40	40	40
Characteristics:			
Access by paved road to Yundum airport	H	H	L
Distance or time to Yundum airport	H	M	L
Proximity to urban fringe	H	L	L
Rate of settlement by urban migrants	H	L	M
Land scarcity	H	M	L
Increasing prices for residential land	H	M	L

H=high, M=moderate, L=low

A continuous stream of migrants from up river, from Banjul and Serekunda, and from abroad have increased demand for land, particularly in areas closest to the city (i.e. Sinchu). Land in Sinchu is now extremely scarce, and both Alkalos have been forced to reclaim land from other households to make land available for maturing children in the village, or to newcomers.

Since the droughts of the 1970s and 1980s, and the decline of the groundnut industry, families have placed increasing emphasis on vegetable production. Vegetables (compared with cereals or livestock) are very labor intensive, labor absorbing, and profitable. Stranger farming has since steeply declined due to lack of rain, the decline of the groundnut industry, low farm incomes, and the spread of animal traction. Women are primarily responsible for growing and marketing the vegetables. They report labor constraints in water lifting, cultivation and harvesting, but lack of capital for irrigation wells and fencing appears to be the main factor constraining private expansion of garden schemes in the peri-urban area. Expanding the size of village

5. Donor countries and NGO organizations have established village gardens or "schemes" in many villages in the peri-urban area. The nature and performance of these schemes vary widely. The Alkalo or founding families generally provide the land, usually 1-5 ha. The donors and NGOs provide fencing, wells, irrigation infrastructure, and land improvements, along with some technical and financial assistance, at least initially. Women generally produce and market the vegetables, both on traditional low lying areas, and on the schemes. Large vegetable schemes developed by the EEC lie at the outskirts of Pirang and Sanyang, but not Sinchu. A number of small vegetable schemes developed by NGOs are scattered in the vicinity of Sinchu, but at some distance from the village.

schemes would require additional land which is held by men, and capital for irrigation which is scarce.

Research Questions/Hypotheses

The survey is designed to provide a broad yet detailed picture of the household production economy in the three villages. Detailed quantitative and qualitative information is collected on household demography, migration patterns, resources, asset accumulation, land holdings, land acquisition and disposition histories, land rights, land and labor use, tradable input use, credit, cost of production, remittances, farm and non-farm income, and employment. Disaggregation of data at the plot and gender levels is designed to facilitate an intra-household analysis of resource access, income and constraints. Beyond the information provided by the study, the research is tailored to test the following null hypotheses (H):

- H1: Repossession of land by the Alkalos is resulting in tenure insecurity; such claims have been frequent and in some cases have represented significant welfare losses for the families concerned.
- H2: The "founding" families, without sufficient capital, lack the means to cultivate or invest in their entire land holdings. "Borrowing" families having only seasonal use rights on the land of "founding" families, lack incentives to invest in long-term land improvements.
- H3: Because tree planting establishes an individual's long-term ownership rights in the land, husbands are reluctant to let wives, and "founding" families are reluctant to let borrowing families, invest in tree crop technology.
- H4: The current system of customary tenure, whereby both household head and plot managers claim individual use rights to the same plot, creates tenure insecurity through uncertain definition and enforcement of rights.
- H5: The land patronage system, whereby the Alkalos and "founding" families "loan" fields to tenants is beginning to break down under urban influences, rising land value, and a declining land-labor ratio.
- H6: Real estate collateral is the backbone of mortgage-based lending and long-term corporate financing in developed capital markets. The customary system, where land rights are divorced from investments on the land and land transfers entail high transaction costs, decreases the collateral value of the land asset and serves as a constraint to long-term credit expansion.
- H7: Land in donor schemes, being constrained by availability of capital for irrigation and fencing, and provided by "founding" families, is foremost allocated to the women of "founding" families in the villages. Other women benefit through employment as hired laborers or traders.

- H8: Founding families are able to mobilize higher levels of hired labor, as reciprocal labor is demanded in exchange for the right to borrow land.
- H9: Plot specific factors (land rights, parcel quality) are more important than household specific factors (age, sex, education, access to non-farm income for capital) in explaining productivity and investment in land improving technology.
- H10: Vegetable cultivation is leading to a substitution of family farm labor for non-farm work in the dry season as the opportunity cost of female labor in vegetable production increases, and to higher demand for seasonal labor in the wet season for fencing and irrigation activities.
- H11: Poverty is partly caused by land market failures that prevent the land price from reflecting its "true" economic value, that hinder individuals from acquiring land to expand the size of farm or place of business, or that discourage less productive farmers from willingly selling land and moving into other lines of employment or retirement.

Questionnaires

The study is comprised of two components: structured interviews with the Alkalos in each of the study villages to develop village-level case histories of settlement patterns, land allocation and transfers, employment, vegetable production and marketing, and local institutions (Annex B); and a statistical survey comprised of five separate questionnaires administered to selected members of each household in the sample (Annex C): (1) household head questionnaire, (2) economic adult questionnaire, (3) plot characteristics questionnaire, (4) plot manager questionnaire, and (5) vegetable production questionnaire.

- (1) **Household head questionnaire.** A one round questionnaire administered to each household head or designate, with as many household adults present as possible. As a first round it is designed to precede all other sections, including (2) to (5). The themes covered include household-level productive assets, household demographic profile, parcel and farm plot inventory, family settlement history, household head's perception of specific land rights on the private plots of household members, acquisition and disposal histories of plots alienated by household members, and general questions on the families' perceptions of tenure security and land scarcity in the village.
- (2) **Economic adult questionnaire.** A one-round questionnaire administered to each adult in the household who has either received remittances, is involved in wage and non-farm employment, has used credit or made withdrawals from local savings groups (Osusus), or has been involved in one or more land disputes. The questionnaire follows round (1) but can be undertaken simultaneously with any of rounds (2) to (5). Information is elicited on remittances, wage and non-farm employment, non-farm income, credit use, credit sources, and land disputes.

- (3) **Plot follow-up (plots in and out) questionnaire.** For each household member having a plot of land rented-in, borrowed, purchased, received as a gift, claimed spontaneously, rented-out, given, loaned, or otherwise temporarily given to another, a one-round questionnaire is administered to that adult. The questionnaire follows round (1) but can be undertaken simultaneously with any of rounds (2) to (5). The themes covered include (for each plot) land quality, parcel acquisition history, fruit tree sales, terms and conditions of land rentals or sharecropping, plot-level investments in land improvements, and plot size measurements.
- (4) **Plot manager questionnaire.** For each household member farming a plot (excluding plots rented-out, given-out, or pledged), detailed information is elicited (for each plot) on perceived land rights of the manager, input use and expenditures, input prices, production value (aside from tree crops), land use and management practices, and labor utilization. The questionnaire follows round (1) but can be undertaken simultaneously with any of rounds (2) to (5).
- (5) **Vegetable production questionnaire.** Vegetable harvesting occurs nearly continuously from February through April. Because of continuous harvesting, the dearth of information on vegetable marketing, and the study's focus on the horticultural sector, this round was designed to elicit detailed information on amounts harvested, sales, and choice of market for up to 10 vegetables. The questionnaire follows round (1), but is administered repeatedly as needed (usually 2-3 visits) during the harvesting period.

This set of questionnaires was designed with three objectives in mind: (a) the need to group questions by theme or topic to facilitate recall and "flow" of the interview(s); (b) the need to address questions to those household members most knowledgeable about a specific activity; and (c) the need to keep the length of each round to 1.5 hours or less in length to minimize respondent fatigue and data errors. For example, with regard to (a), questions on household demographics and family settlement history can be asked to the household head with a fairly high degree of reliability. However, questions related to remittances, non-farm income, plot management, and land rights are best addressed directly to the individual male and female household members concerned if the data obtained are to be "accurate."

A draft questionnaire was developed in the U.S. based on information gained during earlier reconnaissance visits, but underwent at least 10 major revisions and field testing in all three sites before implementation. Ten of the best enumerators with previous experience on a University of Wisconsin project involving agricultural surveys were chosen for the study. A three-day training session (18 to 20 February 1993) provided researchers an opportunity to explain the research design and survey instruments, while providing enumerators the opportunity to provide valuable comments and suggestions. Enumerators, 3-4 in each village, were assigned on the basis of experience and language skills. One experienced chief enumerator was made responsible for overall coordination and management.

While the questionnaire was written in English, interviews were held in either Mandinka or Wolof depending on the first language of the respondent.

The enumerators were either fluent in both languages, or were assigned to households on the basis of first language spoken. Field testing took place the week of 1-5 March 1993, and after final revisions, the survey was implemented over the period 8 March to 30 April 1993. Data entry forms were designed in Paradox, and data entry was carried out in The Gambia, after approximately one week designing the data entry routines, and another week spent on providing training in Paradox. Actual data entry began the last week of March and continued throughout the month of May 1993 in The Gambia. However, due to data errors detected in initial statistical runs and spot checks, researchers were forced to reenter the data in Madison during July 1993.

Land Market Survey

Demand for Land

While land purchases do not appear to be common among small holders, purchases of agricultural land by urban residents in the peri-urban zone are widespread. As has been observed in such places as Mali, Mozambique and Somalia, new opportunities in the horticultural sector are increasing the demand for agricultural land in the peri-urban areas, where access to international markets and wealthy consumers in the local urban-centered market is good.

An urban entrepreneur or other community outsider interested in commercial horticulture production, or the establishment of a residence, may obtain community land either by contacting a land holder with the right to sell land under existing land institutions, or by arranging a purchase through the community Alkalo. Alkalos have traditionally been the managers of land held in common for the community, and thus have preferential access rights to the land. Whether this preferential access serves the interests of the wider community is a delicate political question that must be explored carefully in the context of the present study.

New commercial opportunities in the horticultural sector, rapid population growth, and the encroachment of central government authority on traditional land institutions, have altered the preexisting basis for the present arrangement under which Alkalos administer land. These new conditions may have important welfare implications for members of the local community, either positive or negative, and must be considered if land tenure policy developed at the national level is to have the desired beneficial effect for the economy.

Inter-Linked Transactions

It is expected that most land transfers in the peri-urban zone, as in more rural areas, will involve parties with enduring interlinked relations: inheritance between parent and child, or borrowing between wealthy and poor relatives. More complicated interlinked transactions may occur between close acquaintances, involving permanent or temporary exchanges of rights to land not only for payment in cash or kind, but also for such things as agreement to market produce through a particular merchant in the family of the agent providing the land, or an agreement to provide labor during peak seasons.

Land transactions not involving significant interlinkages are also of importance. Such transfers are more consistent with conventional economic

notions of a land market. Prices that obtain from such transfers may be evaluated with little adjustment in conventional land valuation procedures. It is expected, a priori, that these unlinked purchasers of land will come from a distinctly different socioeconomic population from that of the land recipients in the more traditional interlinked transactions. One might expect individuals purchasing land to be relatively affluent, mainly male, wage or professionally employed, and interested in acquiring land for either residential or commercial purposes rather than for subsistence production. Conversely, one might expect those individuals selling land to be older, also male, in need of cash for education, medical or social obligations, or have scarce labor relative to land.

A number of questions are of interest to the Ministry of Lands. These relate to the Ministry's desire to develop a formula for assessing leasehold fees, undertaking land tenure reforms, levying a value-based property tax, assessing the viability of property for collateral-based credit expansion, and also for evaluating the productivity of land in activities associated with the different kinds of transfers indicated above: What is the value in terms of cash and other goods and services exchanged for land? What transaction costs are associated with the different kinds of transactions that might be reduced to a beneficial effect through central government policy? How has any increase in the frequency of unlinked transactions affected land use patterns? If such transactions are encouraged, what welfare effects can be expected? Can housing and horticultural production be expanded without aggravating rates of landlessness and poverty among particular populations? Are those dispossessed of land able to find alternative means of sustenance, through remaining land holdings, wage employment, or other activities?

Information Asymmetries and Unequal Bargaining Positions

Two characteristics of the land market seemed striking based on early reconnaissance visits: (1) large information asymmetries between buyer and seller; and (2) highly "unequal" bargaining positions among parties transacting land. Urbanites, in particular, perhaps because of higher education and greater exposure to market prices, seemed to have a much better understanding of land values than persons in peri-urban and more rural areas from whom they were buying. Such asymmetries no doubt are also partly due to urbanites acquiring agricultural land for residential purposes, and to the rapid escalation of housing rents in Banjul and Serekunda in recent years. These asymmetries are sometimes exacerbated by the weak bargaining position of the seller. For example, sellers needing immediate money for educational or health expenses, would sell at a "bargain" price. In extreme cases, an urban buyer would acquire land from someone at an extremely low "price" because the latter did not think one could "own" land, let alone buy and sell it.

Data Sources

The HPS is aimed at studying the processes of land transactions under the customary system, in particular land giving, borrowing and inheritance. The LMS focuses on "modern" processes of land alienation by sale, and registration of land rights under statutory tenure. The two studies combined are intended to give an in-depth analysis of the land market under both traditional and statutory systems, the processes by which people seek to acquire and defend

land rights, factors determining tenure choice, productivity and investment outcomes of the various tenure arrangements, and the dynamic interactions between traditional and "modern" sub-systems within the overall system of land tenure in the peri-urban area.

Aside from the limited number of purchases/sales that will be picked up in the three-village HPS, researchers discovered five sources of records of land sales in the greater Banjul/Serekunda area:

- a. Transfers in Kombo North, Kombo South, Kombo East and Kombo West Districts recorded at the Brikama Area Council (BAC) ostensibly for tax purposes;
- b. Transfers in Banjul and Kombo St. Mary recorded at the Kanifing Area Council;
- c. Initial registrations and transfers of leasehold property in Kombo North, Kombo South, Kombo East and Kombo West Districts recorded at the Brikama District Commissioner's (BDC) Office;
- d. Initial registrations and transfers of leaseholds in Banjul and Kombo St. Mary, recorded at the Department of Lands and Surveys; and,
- e. The transfer of deeds registry, including officially recorded conveyances, assignments, leases, and mortgages recorded at the Ministry of Justice.

The transfers recorded in sources (a-e), according to local informants, normally involve some form of cash transaction. However, "purchases" or "sales" do not necessarily exclude interlinkages associated with traditional processes. It is possible that land is exchanged for cash plus "reciprocal obligation" or contractual interlinkages among buyers, sellers and their families, or that the cash price will be reduced or increased as a result of these interlinkages. Transactions without interlinkages will embody little if any prior or enduring relationship between transacting parties. Sales are conventionally taken to mean the complete instantaneous transfer of all rights for cash or in-kind. But, the possibility that either party may hold residual rights after the time of transfer adds an important temporal element that, if present, would imply that such transactions do not meet the conditions of strict definition of sale. Such terms as "buyers," "sellers," "purchases," and "sales" seem rather unsatisfactory in this context, but are nonetheless used for lack of a better terminology.

Source (b) was excluded because of the heavy urban bias of transfers in Banjul and Kombo St. Mary, and because of the relatively poor and inaccessible

6. While tax records are maintained at the BAC, tax collectors normally visit the site, obtain from the Alkalos the names of property holders, then collect the taxes. A large number of BAC transfers were made by buyers wanting to secure their land.

7. A number of different terms were tried with equally unsatisfactory results including for buyer--purchaser, acquirer and recipient--and for seller--disposer and provider.

state of documents compared with those on file at the BAC. Population listings of the four remaining populations (a and c-e) were initiated in February 1993, as outlined in Annex D.

A Theoretical Model

Let "land prices" (P) be the actual cash or in-kind value of goods and services exchanged for land. Land prices as indicated in equation (1) are theoretically determined by a variety of factors: location (L), market prices (M), quality attributes including investments (Q), tenure status (T), household characteristics, including age, gender, ethnicity, and social and political position in the community (HC), cost of capital (r), and the cost of locating potential buyers, and negotiating and enforcing contracts (C). Land price is also affected by the value of interlinkage contracts that enter the model through (HC) and (C).

$$(1) P = P(L, M, Q, T, HC, r, C)$$

$$(2) C = C(HC, T(HC))$$

The cost of the transaction (C) in equation (2) is theoretically determined by such factors as tenure status and land institutions (T), and the potential number of buyers and sellers in the market and transactions costs embodied in household characteristics (HC). With regard to household characteristics, sales strictly confined to members of the same ethnic group decrease the potential number of buyers, and increase the search costs, particularly if the pool of buyers is small. Outsiders or newcomers are expected to pay more for land than known local residents. Political or social status would tend to reduce the price paid if political position is used to gain market power, or to increase the price paid if the transaction is meant to provide reciprocity to those with less status. As for tenure status (T), costs increase with the number and level of legal restrictions on transfers, the number of individuals holding rights in the property, and whether the land belongs to a lineage group. A parcel that is registered would tend to reduce costs if registration confers fewer restrictions on transfers (through the land law) or unencumbers the land from multiple competing claims. Alternatively, it may increase costs if the registration process itself engenders cumbersome procedures and lengthy time requirements.

Under competitive market conditions, attributes L, M, Q, T, r and C would be expected to prevail. In markets characterized by administrative transactions, household characteristics will tend to be more important and may predominate. Banks, in order to find land an attractive collateral substitute, must see the price as being highly predictive (having high probability of being realized in the market) and obtainable at "reasonable" costs. A land equation that has no predictive power, based on either physical, spatial, or social factors, would entail very high risks to Banks seeking to use land as collateral in their lending operations.

Survey Design

The research design in Figure 2 targets four principle domains of land transfers: (1) an individual or group transferring a parcel of land to another

Figure 2:

Theoretical Sampling Design, Land Market Survey

	Traditional Transfers		Registered Transfers	
	Buyers	Sellers	Buyers	Sellers
Transfer between group(s) and/or individual(s)	A n=30	B n=30	C n=30	D n=30
Transfer from Alkalo to group or individual	E n=30	F n=30	G n=30	H n=30

A = Buyer involved in the transfer of customary land, regardless of current land use, randomly sampled from the listing of land transfers recorded by the Brikama Area Council (BAC).
 B = Seller involved in the transfer of customary land, regardless of current land use, randomly sampled from the listing of land transfers recorded by the BAC.
 C = Buyer involved in the transfer of leaseholds, regardless of current land use, randomly sampled from the listing of registrations, Brikama lease register.^a
 D = Seller involved in the transfer of leaseholds, regardless of current land use, randomly sampled from the listing of registrations, Brikama lease register.^a
 E = Buyer of land from the Alkalo, regardless of current land use, randomly sampled from the listing of BAC land transfers in which the Alkalo's name is the same as the seller's.
 F = The Alkalo from whom the land was acquired, regardless of current land use, randomly sampled from the listing of BAC land transfers in which the Alkalo's name is the same as the seller's.
 G = Buyer of land from the Alkalo, regardless of current land use, randomly sampled from the listing of registrations, Brikama lease register.^a
 H = The Alkalo from whom the land was acquired, regardless of current land use, randomly sampled from the listing of registrations, Brikama lease register.^a

a. No indication in register to distinguish transfers among individuals from transfers between the Alkalo and group or individual. Identification of CD and GH can only be achieved through interviews and repeated sampling.

individual or group via indigenous market processes (AB); (2) an individual or group acquiring land from an Alkalo via indigenous market processes (EF); (3) an individual or group transferring a parcel of land to another individual or group via state leasehold processes (CD); and (4) an individual or group acquiring land from an Alkalo and then registering the land via state leasehold processes (GH). In theory, within each domain, both buyer and seller should be

interviewed to control for tendencies of the respondent (buyer or seller) to misrepresent the price paid or received for the parcel. A total of 60 pairs (buyers and sellers) of indigenous transfers and 60 pairs of registered transfers was deemed sufficient to provide a sample of acceptable variance.

In practice, it was impossible a priori to determine whether the seller was an Alkalo, individual or group. No information is provided in the BDC records on the seller's name, unless re-registered. Before transferring the parcel in the BAC, the seller or buyer registering the transfer is asked to fill out a brief questionnaire including whether the parcel was acquired from the "Alkalo/customary", purchased or inherited. These questionnaires were not always completed, or not filled out completely. The single category "Alkalo/customary" can mean acquisition by a variety of processes including simply claiming the land with or without the Alkalo's approval. Also while the seller is normally expected to fill out the form, the buyer actually registered the transaction in many cases. In such cases, mode of acquisition by "Alkalo/customary" could mean acquisition many years prior to the transaction.

Effectively, categories (E,F,G,H) are known only after the buyer or seller has been contacted. And the very high search costs in finding respondents effectively meant that a questionnaire had to be administered once a respondent was found. The practical outcome was the following. The theoretical research design in Figure 2 had to be replaced by that in Figure 3. And, while the total sample size remains the same at 60 customary and 60 statutory transfers, the number of transfers originating with the Alkalo will only be known with certainty once the survey is completed.

The selection of transfers of leasehold property also involved problems. Only 70 some re-registrations of leaseholds were reported in the register from 1946 to present, with very few in the period 1991-1993. The vast majority of leaseholds were initial registrations that (a) could have involved the registration of a parcel recently acquired under the customary system, or (b) land held many years under the customary system before being registered. Both involve the transfer of rights: the former (a) among individuals; and both (a) and (b) the conversion of rights from the customary to the statutory system. Both processes will inevitably be present in the data collected, but the extent of their presence will not be known until the time of data analysis.

Research Questions/Hypotheses

A priori, the LMS is aimed at testing the following research hypotheses:

H13: The value of land to the buyer, all else equal, is higher under KL=CDGH than IJ=ABEF, if indeed registration increases the certainty of use rights and transfer rights, and lowers transactions costs (including moral hazard).

8. In fact, in cases of inheritance or where the land was given by the Alkalo in the past, there is no seller as such, and thus by definition the number of buyers in the sample will exceed the number of sellers.

9. Determined by comparing name of seller on the questionnaire with the name of person registering the transfer. Also see footnote (6).

Figure 3:

Effective Sampling Design, Land Market Survey

	Indigenous Transfers		Registered Transfers	
	Buyers	Sellers	Buyers	Sellers
Transfer between Alkalo, group or individual	I n=60	J n=60	K n=60	L n=60
<p>I = Buyer involved in the transfer of customary land, regardless of current land use, randomly sampled from the listing of land transfers recorded by the Brikama Area Council (BAC).</p> <p>J = Seller involved in the transfer of customary land, regardless of current land use, including the Alkalo, group or individual, randomly sampled from the listing of land transfers recorded by the BAC.</p> <p>K = Buyer involved in the transfer of leaseholds, regardless of current land use, randomly sampled from the listing of registrations, Brikama lease register.</p> <p>L = Seller involved in the transfer of leaseholds, regardless of current land use, including the Alkalo, group or individual, randomly sampled from the listing of registrations, Brikama lease register.</p>				

H14: The asking price by the seller, after incorporating all goods and services in interlinked transactions and possible opportunism by the Alkalo in the transitional land tenure system, is higher under J=BF than L=DH, because registration decreases transaction costs.

H15: Certainty of land rights transferred is less under EF than AB because the Alkalo can always mobilize community support against the claim of an outsider, and the uncertainty stemming from reported cases of Alkalos selling the same plot to multiple buyers. Conversely, little community support for cancelling outsiders' claims may be forthcoming if Alkalo opportunism is involved.

H16: Certainty of land rights transferred is higher under KL=CDGH than IJ=ABEF because of state guarantees of land rights. Conversely, the state may as a practical matter have little effective control over transactions in some communities, e.g. in preventing sabotage of property when members of the local community feel a transaction has been unjust.

H17: Transactions under the statutory system of leaseholds KL=CDGH involved fewer procedures and lower costs than under customary transfers IJ=ABEF. Conversely, the additional procedures may ultimately result in highly and mutually beneficial outcomes for the transacting parties once the value of the complete set of exchanged goods and services is accounted.

African governments have tended to impose restrictions on private land markets either through formal provisions in state land codes (Gambia, Uganda, Mozambique, Somalia), or through administrative controls, e.g. land boards (Botswana) that in various ways act to regulate transfers. These processes are ostensibly imposed to ensure state control over land use management, to prevent excessive land accumulation by political and economic elites, and to guard against forced sales, landlessness, destitution, and transfers by peasants drawn by the allure of quick cash. A priori, and again controlling for differences in household characteristics and parcel quality, the survey design enables the study of:

- H18: Land buyers (as individuals or households) (IK=ACEG) tend to be political and economic elites who use political power to amass economic wealth;
- H19: Land sellers (as individuals or households) (JL=BDFH) tend to be poorer and less privileged.
- H20: The land market is resulting in land concentration, with elites amassing wealth, and landlessness, as poorer households move off the land.
- H21: Traditional institutions governing land rights are a constraint to those individual investors with the means and interest to acquire property for commercial uses. However, while perhaps a constraint to productivity, such institutions may meet other important goals in the community, including equity and land security.
- H22: The land market is characterized by information asymmetries and unequal bargaining positions, with urban educated elites having better information regarding land values and greater economic power compared with sellers in the peri-urban area.

Sampling Frame

To collect information on the characteristics of recent land transfers in the Banjul peri-urban area, two independent samples of parcels changing hands during 1991-1993 were selected from the two domains--BAC and the BDC--or groups IJ and KL shown in Figure 3.

Brikama Area Council

The BAC is responsible for tax collection at the division level. As parcels change ownership, the change is recorded at the BAC to provide an "official" record of the transfer. Land sellers have an incentive to register the transfer to avoid being contacted for tax payments in subsequent years. Land buyers have an incentive to record the transfer to enhance their tenure security; although the records do not constitute legal documents, certificates or receipts documenting claims are preferred to having no documents at all.

The BAC began keeping records in 1976; each record is supposed to contain three sheets: (1) a preliminary questionnaire; (2) Transfer of Ownership Form; and (3) a parcel sketch map. A separate tax register is kept up to date with names provided by the transfer records.

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Work on constructing the sample frame began in January 1993 by compiling the list of all transfers from 1986 through March 1993. The number of transfers registered at the BAC for the entire Western Division totalled 594 over this period (Table 1). A large number of cases were missing the original questionnaire, which contained information on date and nature of acquisition (Annex D), and the sketch map. Many had missing data. Nonetheless, the records provided a complete listing of the names and addresses of buyers and sellers--the principle information required for the sampling frame.

The amount of time elapsing between the "Date of acquisition" and the "Date transfer was approved" were found to be highly variable--ranging from over 20 years to exactly the same date. Upon further review, it was discovered that the date of acquisition most often referred to the date the seller acquired the parcel. However, in some cases, it referred to the date the buyer acquired the parcel (when forms were completed by the buyer), thus explaining the long period between dates of acquisition and transfer approved.

Researchers were very conscious of two concerns in designing the sampling frame: (1) using recall approaches to gather detailed data on transactions costs, terms and conditions of sale, and socio-economic status at the time of transfer would run the risk of either erroneous data or poor quality data being collected due to memory fatigue; and (2) sellers of land may have moved or died. The severity of both problems increase exponentially with time. Yet, the number of BAC transfers in 1993, which would have permitted current data recall, were not sufficiently large to enable adequate sampling.

It was decided to limit the length of time elapsing between the time of transfer and the date of the survey to 2.5 years (1991-93) in designing the sampling frame. Also, rather than asking households about socio-economic status (family size, land holdings) at the time of transfer, questions were phrased instead in the current tense (i.e. current size of family, land holdings, etc.). Socio-economic information on household characteristics is thus 2 years or less out of date, but gains in data quality were believed to outweigh the costs of data error that would have been experienced if questions had been posed in the past tense.

The sample was selected using an interval method to ensure that a random sample was taken at intervals throughout the listing. While no patterns in the sample frame listings were detected that would have created problems for random selection, the interval approach was nonetheless employed. All parcels listed between the years of 1991-1993 were numbered sequentially from 1 to 302. The sampling interval was determined by dividing the sampling population by the number of sample units desired ($302/60=5.033$). A random starting point between 1 and 5.033 was found (3.500), then roughly every fifth observation was chosen thereafter.

Brikama District Commissioner's Registry

The second domain consists of formal registrations of leaseholds in the BDC. Land holders under the land law can convert their tenure from customary land rights to statutory land rights embodied in a 99-year leasehold. The BDC contains the registry of all registrations and leasehold transfers for the districts of Kombo North, Kombo Central, Kombo South, and Kombo East.

Table 1:

Brikama Area Council Listing

Year	Population	Sampling Population	Sample
1993 (to March)	38	38	?
1992	221	221	?
1991	43	43	?
1990	84	-	-
1989	44	-	-
1988	16	-	-
1987	75	-	-
1986	73	-	-
Total	594	302	60

The number of total registrations in these districts, covering all of Western Division excluding Banjul and Kombo St. Mary, has increased rapidly but at a declining rate in recent years. The total number of initial registrations (transfers of leaseholds) in all districts was 45 (11) in 1987, 126 (12) in 1988, 155 (10) in 1989, 221 (20) in 1990, 297 (11) in 1991 and 226 (9) in 1992 (Table 2, Annex E). Applications now take 6 months to 6 years to process due to the lengthy and onerous set of registration procedures required. Demand for leasehold property is reportedly quite strong, but the plateauing apparent in recent years suggests the presence of capacity constraints that are acting to curtail leasehold issuances.

All registrations were first recorded from the first registration in 1946 through 31 March 1993, then for similar reasons explained for the BAC sample, only transfers from 1991 to 1993 were included in the sampling population.

Three immediate problems were foreseen in implementing the survey. First, unlike the HPS where all household members are located in one of three villages, the sellers and buyers in the land markets survey are widely dispersed throughout the peri-urban area. Second, the buyer is usually more easily contacted than the seller; while some sellers will have remained at their past indicated addresses, other sellers living on the parcel at the time of transfer will have since moved or died. Third, a preliminary scan of the land register in the BDC indicated that many land registrations were carried out by high-ranking government officials and well-known businessmen. Donors and government officials, while very concerned about the possibility of a land grab or excessive land speculation occurring, were also very concerned about the political consequences of pushing research on the issue too vigorously. Also, there was a genuine concern by researchers that such influential individuals might prove uncooperative and reluctant to participate in the study.

Table 2:
Population and Sample of Registered Leaseholds,
Brikama District Commissioner's Office

Year	Population	Sampling Population	Sample
1993 (to March)	105	105	?
1992	332	332	?
1991	304	304	?
1990	221	-	-
1989	155	-	-
1988	126	-	-
1987	45	-	-
Total	1,288	741	60

The following adaptations were made to the sample design to avoid a high rejection rate, erroneous data, and possible adverse repercussions for the research team. A sample twice as large (120 parcels) was randomly selected from this domain. The names were then reviewed by two knowledgeable Gambians who made judgements about the willingness of the leaseholder to cooperate in the study. Names familiar to both were retained in the sample only if both agreed that the individual would be willing to cooperate and provide "reasonably" accurate information. Roughly 90 individuals of the 120 remained after this process of elimination was completed. The remaining entries were randomized and enumerated sequentially until a total of 60 pairs of buyers and sellers were interviewed.

As with the BAC sampling procedure, the sample was selected using an interval method. All parcels listed between the years 1991-1993 were numbered sequentially from 1 to 741. The sampling interval was determined by dividing the sampling frame units by the number of sample units desired ($741/120=6.175$). A random starting point between 1 and 6.175 was found to be 5.900.

Questionnaire

As with the HPS, the LMS is comprised of two components: structured interviews with a sub-sample of sellers and buyers to develop detailed case histories of land transfers (including motives, terms and conditions, and transactions costs), and current status of buyer and seller; and a statistical survey comprised of a one-round set of questions administered to the buyer and seller in each land transaction:

1. **Land Acquirer Questionnaire (Annex F).** A one round questionnaire is administered to the primary individual involved in acquiring the parcel. Detailed questions (always asked to the acquirer) for the following general themes were asked at three levels: (1) characteristics of the

land acquirer, including personal characteristics (age, sex, education, social status, etc.), settlement history, employment, wealth, and income; (2) parcel attributes and transaction history, including acquisition history, nature of purchase, search and transactions costs, land price paid and other terms and conditions of purchase, linkages with seller, motives for purchase, land use prior to the transaction and currently, tenure status, capital market linkages, parcel income, land disputes, plot quality attributes, investment and by whom the investment was made, and reasons for or against leasehold registration; and (3) characteristics of the acquirer's household, including number of holdings ever held, parcel acquisition and disposal histories, motives for purchase or disposition, land use, family size, physical assets, education and type of employment.

2. **Land Seller Questionnaire (Annex G).** A one round questionnaire is administered to the primary individual involved in selling the parcel. Detailed questions (always asked to the seller) for the following general themes are asked at three levels: (1) characteristics of the land seller, including personal characteristics (age, sex, education, social status, etc.), settlement history, employment, wealth, and income; (2) parcel attributes and transaction history, including acquisition and disposal history, nature of sale, search and transactions costs, land price received, other terms and conditions of sale, linkages with buyer, reasons for disposition, land use prior to the seller's purchase, tenure status, capital market linkages, parcel income, land disputes, plot quality attributes, and reasons for or against leasehold registration; and (3) characteristics of seller's household, including number of holdings ever held, parcel acquisition and disposal histories, motives for purchase or disposition, land use, family size, physical assets, education and type of employment.

While both questionnaires were written in English, interviews were held in either Mandinka or Wolof depending on the first language of the respondent. The enumerators were either fluent in both languages, or were assigned to households on the basis of first language spoken, although the vast majority of respondents spoke and understood English fluently. Teams of researchers were set up with two vehicles to initially locate the buyer. If successful in their search, a questionnaire is administered, and the teams would then attempt to locate the corresponding seller. Researchers anticipated finding only 50 percent of the matched sellers due to sellers having died or moved away from the area since the transfer. No attempt was made to replace the "missing" sellers with others, due to the high search costs anticipated, and funding and time constraints. Field testing of the questionnaires took place at several times during the month of May 1993. After final revisions, the survey was implemented over the period 1 June to 10 August 1993. Data entry forms were designed in Paradox. Data entry was carried out simultaneously with data collection, and with the exception of a small number of questionnaires completed after the date of the survey, all data were entered by staff in The Gambia.

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Annex A

VILLAGE HOUSEHOLD LISTING, SURVEY INSTRUMENT

Annex B

**CASE STUDIES OF SURVEY VILLAGES: STRUCTURED QUESTIONS
ADMINISTERED TO THE ALKALOS IN EACH VILLAGE**

Annex B

CASE STUDIES OF SURVEY VILLAGES: STRUCTURED QUESTIONS
ADMINISTERED TO THE ALKALOS IN EACH VILLAGE

1. Initial discussion of village settlement. How old is the village? How did the village come to be settled here? Who are/were the founding families? How have recent changes in population affected settlement and land use over the past decade? Has migration been an important factor in settlement, whether rural-urban, urban-rural or upper provinces to this village? Has the village undergone a significant transformation since the droughts of the 1970s, or has life in the village remained more or less the same?

2. Land allocation and land constraints. What are the principal means of acquiring land in the village and have these changed since the village was founded? Have giving and borrowing become less important mechanisms over time? Are land purchases and cash rentals becoming more important mechanisms? Is the growth in population and migration leading to land scarcity? If so, how are the Alkalo (in land allocation) and households dealing with it? Do people feel as though their land rights are secure? Are land disputes worsening? Which types of disputes?

3. Economic livelihoods. How have people's economic activities changed in the face of increased urbanization and population pressure? Is there a significant difference in people's income and how they were employed prior to the drought years and now? Is labor for farm work a constraint in the village? Is the use of stranger farming still important? If not, why the decline? Where are children in the village now seeking employment?

4. Vegetable production and marketing. How is growth in horticulture affecting family income and employment? How have vegetable and tree crops affected men's and women's access to land? Have the lives of people improved with the expansion of horticulture? Has the village benefited or lost and how? What has been the impact of large farms on the community? Have they hired many villagers? How have they acquired access to land? Have donor schemes been a blessing or have they caused strained relations in the village? Are women able to get sufficient land on the schemes? If vegetable production is perceived as a positive development then why haven't more community resources been mobilized to expand production?

5. Indigenous institutions. Have indigenous institutions (i.e. Kafos and Osusus) remained constant in the face of these changes in population, settlement, and land scarcity? Is there a need for more government or NGO involvement? How have these institutions changed since the onset of donor funding? How has the recent Economic Reform Program affected peoples lives in the village?

Figure B.1
Settlement, Employment and Land Markets, Sinchu Baliya Village

Sinchu Baliya is located on the outskirts of Welingara village, south of Serekunda. The village was founded by the father of present Alkalo, Amadou Bah, some 60 years ago. The father, an important businessman who owned a shop in Bakau, decided to seek land for farming out of fear that business would not last. With farm land in Bakau in short supply, he contacted the Seyfou (chief) in Sukuta, who "gave" him the land where Sinchu Baliya is presently located.

Other families interested in farming were invited (by the father) to settle the land. Some were kin, others were strangers from far and wide. At the time of settlement, the area was covered by thick bush, replete with snakes and hyenas. He cleared the land with the help of Kafo labor groups. Families were then encouraged to settle as neighbors, and to help protect the concession from wildlife and unauthorized claims.

Before the droughts of the 1970s, stranger farmers coming to the area seeking seasonal use of land in exchange for labor was a common occurrence. Settlement by migrants was less common. Stranger farming, has since steeply declined due to lack of rain, the decline of the groundnut industry, low farm incomes, and the spread of animal traction.^a Since the 1970s, many of the people settling in the village have come from elsewhere in The Gambia (principally rural areas affected by low incomes and drought) and from abroad, including, inter alia, Guinea Bissau and Senegal.

Once primarily a farming community, the village now has more and more residents coming to depend upon wage and skilled labor. Nevertheless, while a small number of households depend entirely on non-farm employment, the vast majority have small farms. Nearby Sinchu farm and Radville farm, both large commercial operations, provide sources of employment. Wages, however, are disappointingly small. Tilling one's own land provides superior income, particularly from vegetables. Giving land to commercial operations would nonetheless be preferred if they were viable and provided employment for the community. All too often, however, land is allocated by the Alkalo to a commercial operation on promises of employment that never pan out.

A nearby commercial farm is a case in point. The Alkalo claimed to have given land on condition that people from the village would be provided employment. The farm never followed through with its promises. Senior positions initially given to villagers were later given to expatriates, and the villagers were fired. The Alkalo has since protested, with some positive results, yet he remains irritated. He is reluctant to take the land back in hope that the commercial farm might yet succeed and increase employment in his village, but severe land scarcity is making the temptation difficult to resist.

Demand for land has grown sharply in recent years. The rapid population growth of Serekunda city has reached its outer limits due to the extensive areas of surrounding swamps. High rents there have resulted in many people

(continued)

Figure B.1: (Continued)

coming to Sinchu Baliya seeking land upon which to live and farm. Some settle permanently. Others borrow land to farm, while residing in Serekunda. Any affairs regarding land require that the Alkalo be notified and kept informed. Transactions require that he act as a witness.

Arable land for dry land farming and swamp land for rice are rarely sold, leased, or rented although the customary tribute of "kola nuts" to the Alkalo in exchange for a seasonal concession remains a common practice. Land for residences is bought and sold, and sales of residential property are widespread. Serious land scarcity has emerged in recent years. What criteria does the Alkalo use in allocating land? Arable land for farming is allocated on a first come, first serve basis; because of the many people requesting land, the Alkalo must turn some away, usually those coming late in the agricultural season. Land for residential purposes is sold to those able to pay in-cash or in-kind (e.g. a bag of groundnuts). Money from the sale of residential plots is retained by the Alkalo's family, and "rightly so", because the land belonged to his father. Individuals are entitled to sell the buildings on land to another, but only with the approval of the Alkalo because the land belongs to him.

A recent meeting of the Alkalos with the Seyfou addressed the problem of land scarcity in the region. The Seyfou formally set aside an area adjacent to Sinchu Alhaji for agriculture. Whomever is interested in farming can contact the concerned Alkalo(s) for an allocation.

The Alkalo is now being forced to reclaim some of the land formerly given to families by him or his father. Land is needed for the younger generation and newcomers. An attempt is made to seize land that is not fully utilized, but this is not always possible. These repossessions sometimes pose hardships for the families losing land, but the needs of others are greater.

Disputes, particularly boundary disputes, are widespread and demand the constant attention of the Alkalo. People frequently encroach upon another's land to expand their holdings. Ownership disputes are becoming more common. A common dispute is the situation where a father borrows (has been given) a plot for a long time, the Alkalo reallocates a portion of the land to another, and the sons upon reaching age demand the land back to establish their own households. Such problems are increasing in number and are becoming more difficult to resolve as the size of the village increases.

a. While labor arrangements concerning stranger farming can be expected to vary depending on demand for seasonal labor, the supply of stranger farmers seeking land, and land availability, 5 days of labor on the land holder's farm in exchange for 2 free days to work on a "private" plot was a prevailing contract. Animal traction, a labor saving technology, helped to reduce stranger farming by reducing farm labor demands per-unit of area.

b. In response to the question "has the "kola-nut" tribute increased in size with time, the Alkalo responded negatively, followed by the clarification that some farmers presented no tribute at all, yet were still allocated land.

Source: Personal conversation with Alkalo Amadu Bah, Sinchu Baliya.

Figure B.2
Settlement, Employment and Land Markets, Sinchu Alhaji Village

Sinchu Alhaji village, formerly Madena Sekunda, was founded in 1968 by Alhaji Abdoulie Ceesay from Kiang, who at the time was living with his koranic students in Serekunda. As a marabout in his younger years, he one night in a dream received orders from God that he should establish a village for himself and his Islamic students. He visited the Seyfou in Sukuta for land, and there saw in a dream a tree under which the village should be established. However, only some time later, after visiting the "wise" Alkalo of Old Yundum and inquiring about the tree was he able to locate the site of the present village. That tree still stands at the center of Sinchu Alhaji today.

At the time of settlement 28 years ago, the area was covered by heavy bush. The Alkalo promised the Seyfou that he and his followers would supply the labor for clearing and establishing the village in order to promote Islam in the area. The first compound was settled by a family from Saback Sanjal in the North Bank Division in 1968. Others began arriving in 1973/74. The village was sought out by those who wanted to practice Islam, move nearer to the city, and raise a family in a rural environment free from the vices of urban life. Serekunda, the home of the Marabout's students before the move, was rife with adulterating influences--cigarettes, modern dress and bad moral conduct.

A second wave of settlement followed beginning around 1977/78. Families who arrived from inland areas indicated that they had no water due to drought. "Kola nuts" were offered to the Alkalo to stay, and they were accepted into the community. By 1984, the current village contained approximately 35 to 45 compounds. Nearly all settlers to this point practiced traditional life-styles, and acquired land primarily for farming.

A third wave of settlement followed in 1985, with urbanites from Bakau, Serekunda and Banjul seeking land for residences and farming. Currently, as many as 50 people/day are showing up on weekends at the Alkalo's compound to seek land allocations. The size of the village has grown to around 170 compounds at present. The demand for land by wealthier households is high, but a substantial number of poorer households are seeking land as well. People in some cases have no place to stay, or rents in Banjul or Serekunda are too high for their income. The story of a recent migrant provides a case in point. A gentleman with "kola nuts" arrived at the Alkalo's compound one day. He had 6 children to feed, lacked employment, and was staying in his brother's crowded compound.

Plots are now being allocated in sizes of about 25 x 30 meters. Allocations used to be larger, 36m x 36m to some as large as 50m x 50m. However with the tightening supply of land in the village, the Alkalo has had to reclaim land from certain families who received larger allocations in the past. The sub-divisions are carried out by the survey department. Do people with larger holdings complain about losing it? The response was effectively no--"One does not disagree with the Alkalo."

(continued)

Figure B.2: (Continued)

The land is given for "free", but some form of "gift" to the Alkalo is considered proper. The wealthier should give more, while the poor may only be able to afford a small tribute of "kola nuts" or D20 to D100. However, the land is never sold, only the improvements thereon.^a Once land is allocated, the individual has a right, and is encouraged by the Alkalo, to seek a 99-year leasehold to protect investments in the land--i.e. mango trees, house and other permanent structures. Only 15 percent of families now hold leaseholds, although the Alkalo keeps well designed sketch maps of individual compounds and the village. Certain areas are reserved for residential use, and other areas for agriculture.

Why encourage registering the land if the Alkalo is looking out for the best interests of the people? First, a lease is required for tenure security. The Alkalo, however decent, will eventually die and there is no guarantee that the next Alkalo will honor the promises made by current or past Alkalos. Second, a lease is good collateral for getting credit from banks. Upon default the bank can reclaim its capital by selling the property to another, but only the improvements are sold as the land belongs to the Alkalo.^b

The people now requesting plots want land for shops, stores and houses. Priority is given to those prepared to live in the area, those willing to develop and invest in the land, and those in need.^c

One large commercial farm has been established in the area. The land (400m x 450m) has been allocated but not yet developed. The owner promised to employ 100 people, and while none have yet been employed, the Alkalo is still hopeful. Why do small farmers not pool their capital for large investments? Earnings of D20 here and D50 there make it difficult to accumulate capital. The Alkalo is able to allocate land, but residents lack the funds to develop the land themselves. No vegetable schemes are present in the immediate vicinity. The majority of people farm, but incomes are low. Large commercial operations are thus preferred; they have a decided advantage in mobilizing capital, and providing cash income and employment.

a. The Alkalo emphasized that the Koran strictly forbids the sale of land.

b. The Alkalo was presented with the following scenario--Suppose the bank makes a loan of D10,000 to an individual who absconds with the money. As no investment is made in the land, there are no improvements to sell, and the land cannot be sold as it belongs to the Alkalo. Whether the bank would agree that the Alkalo owns the land is another matter, particularly for registered property. The important question concerns the suitability of the land as collateral when the Alkalo maintains the right of land ownership. According to the Alkalo, the bank losing money is an unfortunate situation, but is nonetheless inevitable as the land cannot be taken away from the Alkalo.

c. Some farm land has been allocated the village in Yundum and Sukuta by the Seyfou of the district in consultation with the Alkalos.

Source: Personal conversation with the son of Alhaji Abdoulie Ceesay, Sinchu Alhaji.

Figure B.3
Settlement, Employment and Land Markets, Pirang Village

Our forefathers did not record the history of what is presently Pirang village, so the history of its settlement is hazy; some knowledge has been lost. The following history of Pirang is as I learned it from my father, and he from my great grandfather, Biram Kunda, founder of the village.

The founding of Pirang occurred sometime prior to the advent of the Europeans in The Gambia. Two brothers were in line for ascendancy to chiefhood. In the symbolic gesture of slipping a bangle onto his wrist, the Alkalo explained how the "palm bracelet" was slipped onto the wrist of Biram Kunda's brother, indicating his selection as chief. Biram Kunda, angered by the decision, moved away to establish what is now Pirang village.

The area at the time of Biram Kunda's arrival was covered by thick bush, with abundant wildlife--leopards, hyenas and snakes. After clearing the land on his own, marabouts instructed him to plant four trees, one at each corner of the village. The trees, according to the marabouts, if allowed to grow until their flowers were seen, would protect the village against aggression, and evil spirits. These trees are still visible in Pirang today, and since its founding, the village has never fallen to outsiders.^a

Once the trees were planted, other families, mainly warriors from the east, began to arrive asking Biram Kunda for the right to settle. As he wanted neighbors, any family who cared to stay in the area and help clear the land was welcomed, and given land from surrounding areas. As a boy (about 50-60 years ago), the Alkalo recalls 9 families residing in the village--Bojang Kunda (4 families), Turray Kunda, Darboe Kunda, Daffeh Kunda, Jabang Kunda, and Fofona Kunda. These families were the first arrivals in the village and are still recognized as the "founding families" to this day.

Growth of the village since the Alkalo's youth has been gradual. Little by little children grew up and established their own households, while others have continued to migrate to the village from other areas. Three to five families each have sprung from the original 9 families, so that roughly 45 households of the current 178 comprising Pirang today are related in some way to the founding families.

Until recently, newcomers wanting land need only have contacted the Alkalo or one of the "founding" families. No cash payment was required aside from the customary tribute of "kola nuts" to the Alkalo or "founding" family from whom the land was borrowed. However, land scarcity has increased, and beginning 3 years ago the Alkalo began charging D300 for residential plots. Agricultural plots are never rented or sold, but instead are "borrowed-out," and must be returned at the end of the season, although some families have borrowed the same plots for years.^b Land disputes are rare. Any land transfer requires that the Alkalo be notified, and any dispute must be resolved by him, if the parties involved cannot reach a solution themselves.

Land sales, while emerging, are still infrequent. The law requires that the Alkalo be notified of any sale. The founding families can sell land

(continued)

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Figure B.3: (Continued)

without the Alkalo's permission, although all keep him informed. However, if the borrowers of land from the founding families attempted to sell land, even if borrowed a very long time, a very serious conflict would be created.

People from Banjul or Serekunda seeking land has not been a common occurrence. A brother of an existing family in Pirang moving to the village is commonplace. As the village continues to expand, its outer periphery is beginning to come into contact with the land of other villages. When overlap is eminent from an allocation, the Alkalo is presently willing to offer the neighboring village D300 for the land. One offer has to date been accepted.

Times are changing. Land used to be reserved and demarcated for children, who in turn used to hustle for money. The present generation, however, belittles income from agriculture and farming as a profession. A large number of families in the village depend entirely on non-farm employment. Women, while always traders, have begun to spend more time on gardening. Stranger farmers are disappearing. New labor arrangements are taking their place. Visiting workers mainly from up-river are now-a-days seeking employment for fencing, gardening, and work on commercial farms.

Most of the rice fields are now damaged by salt intrusion. The EEC vegetable scheme is too small for the village, and the vegetables are under constant threat of damage by animals. In times past, farmers always felt certain that farming would remain profitable. Uncertainty now prevails. Presently, the people remaining in dryland farming work hard, but for little remuneration. Those women engaged in vegetable cultivation can earn more money in one season than others earn year around. Why not pool capital to make the necessary investments in wells and fencing? Small farmers are poor and find it difficult to accumulate the capital needed for such investments.

A number of large commercial farms are widely dispersed in the area. As many as 50 workers per day, including men and women, may be hired year round from the village. Trucks arrive daily to pick up anyone willing to work. Wages are terribly low, only D12/day for work from 7 am to 4 pm. The commercial farms were given land by Alkalos from other villages. No commercial farmer has yet asked him for land, but he would be receptive. He has land available, and would be willing to ask others in the village to rent or sell land if a commercial farming operation could be enticed to come.

Given that commercial farm wages are low and arable land is growing scarce, why not allocate more land for individual holdings (a long pause)? It is difficult to know what to say! Wages are indeed low, but employment is needed for people in the village. Labor in the village is abundant; capital is the problem. The EEC scheme has been very beneficial but it is too limiting in size. Employment could be increased by expanding operations there. Large commercial farms are better in the sense that they provide better access to capital and have greater capacity for wage employment.

- a. The village has now outgrown the original boundaries.
- b. "Borrowed-out" means "loaned-out" without any fee being paid.

Source: Personal Conversations with Alkalo Maa Bojang, Pirang.

**Figure B.4:
Settlement, Employment and Land Markets, Sanyang Village**

Sanyang, a very old village, was founded more than 75 years ago by the family of the present Alkalo's grandfather on what was then mostly forest land. Other "founding" families--Kore Kunda, Jabak Kunda, More Kunda and Namba Kunda, later settled in adjacent areas, claiming the large area of land surrounding what is presently Sanyang village. The village is about 5 km from the coast, the mangrove swamps marking its western boundary, and only 20 km from the outskirts of Serekunda, although the trip still takes more than 30 minutes by laterite road.

Sanyang's population continues to grow as a result of families coming home, migrants from the Casamance, and in recent years, people from Serekunda seeking land. Unlike Sinchu Alhaji, Sinchu Baliya, and Pirang villages, land is still not sold in Sanyang. Land is allocated by the Alkalo in much the same way as his father before him. Land for newcomers is still abundant and granted upon request. Agricultural plots are never rented or sold, but are instead "borrowed-out," sometimes for a very long time. In addition to grants by the Alkalo, allocations are also made by the "founding" families who still maintain a sizable presence in the village. These allocations, although made by the families, must be approved by the Alkalo. Unlike his counterparts in Sinchu Alhaji and Sinchu Baliya, the Alkalo has not yet been forced to sub-divide or reclaim any previous grants of land.

The influences of urbanization have nonetheless begun to effect changes on life in the village. In recent years, people from Serekunda and other urban areas have been coming to Sanyang asking for land, mainly to establish residences. As Sanyang has abundant farm land still available, he laments the fact that they are fewer in number than he would like to see. Yet, the ones to whom he has "given" land, by and large, have not developed it. They are not interested in agriculture, and farming does not provide the profitable employment that it once did.

The development of a piece of land, either with a fence or a compound, is sufficient to provide a family with secure property rights. However, if an allocated parcel is not developed within 2-3 years, the Alkalo can and will assert his right to reallocate the parcel to someone else. Land without physical development, according to the Alkalo, is strictly "borrowed." Statutory tenure, administered through leaseholds by the state, has to date had minimal impact on land tenure in the village. Three plots of land in Sanyang have been registered as leaseholds, and one transfer of land title has been recorded at the Brikama Area Council.

Disputes are a very sensitive issue, and have risen for the first time in recent years. While the Alkalo is able to settle most of these disputes himself, he has in a few rare cases had to consult the Seyfou.

The last two years have been extremely bad for groundnut farmers in Sanyang. Many farmers harvested nothing in 1992. Cultivation of cassava and early millet (suno) has been on the rise, reflecting (according to the

(continued)

Figure B.4: (Continued)

Alkalo) the decreasing level of rainfall in recent years. Vegetable production has been steadily increasing, and women do most of the work. Most of the vegetable produce is sold in the local and Brikama markets, although some women sell their produce to larger vegetable traders such as Radville farms.

Fruit trees are mainly planted on compound land. Only after the house and compound are built can the trees be planted, and both belong to the family concerned. Vegetable gardens (any land "developed" is considered a garden) are treated differently than other crop fields. The individual or group that makes the investment in the wells or other infrastructure is entitled to freely develop the land in any way s/he or they want. However, garden land is scarce due to the limited endowment of natural lowlands, and other than the EEC vegetable scheme, private capital is too scarce to undertake the necessary investment in wells.

Land for the EEC vegetable scheme was provided by the founding families. Formerly communal land, the EEC project was given land in trust to be developed for the benefit of the village. Traders or large commercial farms used to buy vegetables from the scheme for sale to urban hotels and restaurants. While their number has since dwindled, there is still more income to be made on vegetables in the dry season than groundnuts in the wet season. No large commercial farms currently hire labor from the village.

Stranger or itinerant farmers no longer come to Sanyang in significant numbers. Their numbers were never numerous, but the few that did come have since ceased. Seasonal or casual laborers have followed in their wake. Arriving mostly from up-river and the Casamance, they hire out their labor, for fencing gardens and digging wells on a piecework basis during the rainy season, and for weeding on a wage basis (D20/day). Both Kafo labor and casual labor are very old and important institutions in the area.

Source: Personal conversations with Alkalo Malang Famata Bojang, Sanyang.

Annex C

Questionnaires, Household Production Survey:

(Sinchu Alhaji, Sinchu Baliya, Pirang, and Sanyang Villages)

PERI-URBAN HOUSEHOLD SURVEY
Household Head Questionnaire

Questionnaire Begun: ___ / ___ / ___

Village: _____

Enumerator: _____

Household Head: _____

PART I: GREETINGS AND EXPLANATION

After obligatory greetings, explain to the household head and any others present that researchers from the States and The Gambia will use the information from the survey to improve the land, labor and capital markets. Be sure to explain how much time each of the survey rounds will take. Tell them it will include visits to all of the plots worked by the household. If you do not give them a clear idea of the kinds of questions you will be asking in later rounds, you risk them withdrawing from the survey before it is completed but after it is too late to replace the household. Be sure to make it clear that households may refuse to participate. Finally, be sure to make it clear to them that all information collected will be kept strictly confidential.

PART II: HOUSEHOLD AND PRODUCTIVE ASSETS

1. Do you or any household members own any of the following currently operational items?
- Cart 1 = Yes
 2 = No
 - Plow (Single or Double Mouldboard)
 3 = Yes
 4 = No
 - Seeder 5 = Yes
 6 = No
 - Gas stove 1 = Yes
 2 = No
 - Bicycle 3 = Yes
 4 = No
 - Motorcycle 5 = Yes
 6 = No
 - Car 7 = Yes
 8 = No
 - Television 1 = Yes
 2 = No
 - Video 3 = Yes
 4 = No
 - Refrigerator 5 = Yes
 6 = No
2. *The roofs of household members' homes are made predominantly of*
- 1 = Straw/reed/thatch
 - 2 = Corrugate
 - 3 = Temporary materials
 - 4 = Other
3. *The walls of household members' homes are made predominantly of*
- 1 = Solid concrete or cement block
 - 2 = Mud bricks covered with plaster
 - 3 = Uncovered brick
 - 4 = Straw/reed/thatch
 - 5 = Temporary material
4. What is the principle source of drinking water in your household?
- 1 = Hand pump or tap in compound
 - 2 = Public stand or well
 - 3 = Open well in compound
 - 4 = Open well in neighbor's compound

5. How many animals does the household currently own? How many have they bought and sold since last year at this time?

Number	Oxen ¹	Cattle (non-oxen)	Horses	Donkeys	Sheep	Goats ²	Pigs
Currently owned							
Sold since last year							
Bought since last year							

6. Are any household members major owners of cattle herds present in the village during the dry season?³
- 5 = Yes
 - 6 = No

PART III: HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION

Through discussions with the household head, identify the household members to be included in the survey. For an appropriate working unit, the household should include all those who "pool their resources in the process of production and share in the output." To be a member, a person had to be resident in the household for more than six months during the past year.

ID #	Name	Surname	Sex	Age	Relation to Head of Household (HOH)	Highest Educ'n Level Completed	Native Tongue (> 15 only)	English Comprehension	Currently Resident in HH? ⁴	Agricultural Plot Manager?
			1 = male 2 = female	1 = <= 15 2 = > 15, <= 25 3 = > 25, <= 35 4 = > 35, <= 45 5 = > 45, <= 55 6 = > 55	1 = Child 2 = Wife 3 = Other family ⁵ 4 = Non-family	5 = koranic 6 = primary 7 = h.s. or sec. tech. 8 = university 9 = partial primary or none	1 = Wolof 2 = Mand 3 = Fula 4 = Jola 5 = Other	6 = speak 7 = read 8 = neither 9 = both	1 = yes 2 = no	3 = yes 4 = no
1					HOH					
2										
3										
4										
5										
6										
7										
8										
9										
10										
11										
12										
13										
14										
15										

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PART IV: PARCEL AND FARM PLOT INVENTORY

This inventory should include all land held by the household under any of the "Tenure Status" categories listed in the Codes box at the bottom of the page. It includes land occupied by dwellings and farm buildings as well as fallow and all farmland. Do not list small garden plots individually. Rather, complete one row of the table for each gardener with one or more plots on a donor scheme and an additional row for the same gardener's privately held plots. All swamp rice plots managed by a household member should be listed together. Only fruit trees found in orchards should be listed here. Questions about fruit trees found on plots planted in other crops will be dealt with separately. All questions concern the status of the plot during the past (1992/93) cropping season. Land held by villagers in other villages should be included here, but you will not be responsible for measuring such fields.

Parcel #	Plot #	Plot Manager Name	Plot Manager Surname	Tenure Status?	Principle Land Use?	If rice or vegetable gardens, how many plots?	Communal or Individual
				<i>see codes</i>	<i>see codes</i>		C = Comm'l I = Indiv'l

CODES FOR PRECEDING TABLE							
Tenure Status?				Principle Land Use?			
1 = owned and managed by household	4 = allocation to strange farmer	7 = sharecropped(50/50 split) ⁹	10 = mortgaged ¹⁰	1 = maize	6 = rice	10 = private garden	13 = uncultivated
2 = borrowed ⁸ -out	5 = rented-out ⁷	8 = loaned-out ⁹	11 = entrusted ¹¹	2 = millet	8 = groundnut	11 = donor garden	14 = fallow
3 = borrowed-in	6 = rented-in	9 = loaned-in	12 = other (note)	4 = sorghum	9 = cassava	12 = fruit orchards	15 = buildings or residence

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PART V: SETTLEMENT HISTORY

1. Has the family¹² lived anywhere else outside this compound in the last ten years?
 1 = Yes (complete the table below)
 2 = No (skip to PART VI)

Location (Village and District)	From (year) to (year)	Principle Motives for Changing Location (identify up to two motives)	
		1 = Employment related 2 = Cheaper cost of living 3 = Occupy own house 4 = Better access to schools/hospitals	5 = Drought 6 = Land for farming 7 = Better access to utilities 8 = Other (explain)
Current residence	19__ to 1993		

PART VI: HOUSEHOLD HEAD'S PERCEPTION OF LAND RIGHTS ON PRIVATE PLOTS OF HH MEMBERS

Ask the household head which rights he/she can exercise on the following fields.

Right	Codes	Private Plots of Other HH Members			
		Rice	Uplands	Private Garden	Donor Garden
1 Plant annual crops	1 = Yes, without authorization 2 = Yes, with authorization 3 = No 4 = Don't know				
2 Plant fruit or field trees					
3 Build a wall or fence around the plot					
4 Build a house or warehouse					
5 Bequeath to a family member					
6 Rent out the plot					
7 Sell the plot					

PART VII: LAND ALIENATED BY THE HOUSEHOLD

This section concerns land that household members held before 1981 but no longer hold today. It covers all land except that which was rented-in, borrowed-in and loaned-in for three years or less. Ask only about land held by the household in the survey village. Do not ask about land they held in other villages in which they lived prior to coming here. Remember that this includes both farmland and non-farmland.

1. Is there any land that was owned by members of the household in the past ten years in this village that is no longer held by them?
 1 = yes (complete the table below)
 2 = no (stop interview)

Parcel	Owner Names	Member ID #	Year acquired?	How acquired?	Year alienated?	How alienated?	To whom alienated?
				<i>see below</i>		<i>see below</i>	<i>see below</i>
a							
b							
c							
d							
e							

<p><u>How Acquired?</u> 1 =spontaneous occupation 2 =inherited 3 =purchased 4 =given by Alkalo 5 =concession from District Authorities 6 =borrowed 7 =other (<i>explain</i>)</p>	<p><u>How Alienated?</u> 1 =sold 2 =given away¹³ 3 =evicted 5 =exchanged¹⁴ 6 =taken back 7 =bequeathed 8 =other (<i>explain below</i>)</p>	<p><u>To whom alienated?</u> 1 =HH member 2 =Founding family 3 =Compound head 4 =Alkalo 5 =New settler in village 6 = Non-family villager 7 = Non-villager 8 = District authorities 9 = Government 10 = other (<i>explain below</i>)</p>
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Parcel	The transfer of these plots was <u>approved</u> by which of the following entities? <i>Check all appropriate responses</i>					
	None	Compound Head	Household Head	Alkalo	District Area Council	Other (<i>note</i>)
a						
b						
c						
d						
e						

Comments: _____

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PART VIII: GENERAL ISSUES AND PERCEPTIONS
--

1. Are you among the founding families¹⁵ of this village?
1 = Yes
2 = No
2. With respect to cereals grown by household members, do you usually have enough to feed everyone in the family through the year?¹⁶
3 = Yes
4 = No
3. Are disputes¹⁷ over land ownership in this village more severe today than 10 years ago?
5 = Yes, they are more severe today than 10 years ago
6 = No, they are less more severe today than 10 years ago
7 = They are the same now as then
8 = No opinion
4. Are disputes over land ownership in this village now a serious problem?
1 = Yes
2 = No
5. Are disputes over plot boundaries in this village more severe today than 10 years ago?
5 = Yes, they are more severe today than 10 years ago
6 = No, they are less more severe today than 10 years ago
7 = They are the same now as then
8 = No opinion
6. Are disputes over plot boundaries in this village now a serious problem?
1 = Yes
2 = No
7. Land conflicts involving ownership disputes are usually caused by *(circle one)*¹⁸
1 = Local authorities
2 = Alkalo
3 = Villagers with adjacent lands
4 = Other villagers
5 = Individuals from outside the village claiming lands with documents
6 = Ex-landowners
7 = Land conflicts do not exist
8 = No opinion
9 = Other *(explain)*
8. If someone lends out or rents out a plot for only one cropping season,¹⁸ is there a risk that the tenant will try to claim the land as his own? There is *(circle one)*
1 = A lot of risk that the tenant will try to claim the land as his/her own
2 = Some " " " "
3 = No " " " "
4 = No opinion
9. If someone lends out or rents out their plot for five or more cropping seasons, is there a risk that the tenant will try to claim the land as his own? There is *(circle one)*
1 = A lot of risk that the tenant will try to claim the land as his/her own
2 = Some " " " "
3 = No " " " "
4 = No opinion
10. If you want farmland in the village, what is the best²⁰ means of getting it?
1 = Purchase from Alkalo or other kabilo head
2 = Gift from Alkalo or kabilo head
3 = Purchase from someone else
4 = Allocation from District Commissioner
5 = Borrow
6 = Rent-in
7 = Other
11. With respect to getting more farmland, is it easy, difficult, or very difficult?
5 = Easy
6 = Difficult
7 = Very difficult
12. Can the Alkalo take back land he has given you after you have planted trees on it?
1 = Yes
2 = No
13. Can the Alkalo take back land he has given you after you have constructed a building on it?
1 = Yes
2 = No
14. Amongst farmers here, what are the most serious problems you have with respect to plot ownership?²¹ *(Rank if two or more problems are mentioned.)*

(1) _____

(2) _____

PART IX: PARCEL AND FARM PLOT SKETCH

Date Sketch Completed: ___ / ___ / ___

Enumerator: _____

On this page, make a copy of the household's parcels and farm plots. Be sure to identify appropriate plot numbers on the map. Also understand that you may have to sketch out this map a couple of times during the interviews. Be sure to show plot location relative to canals and other distinguishing landmarks. Remember that for vegetables and rice you do not need to identify every small bed, but you do need to identify their general location with respect to the household's other plots. Indicate which direction is North on the map.

ENDNOTES

1. One oxen means two in the local languages. If respondents say they have "one oxen", enumerators will enter a "2" indicating two animals.
2. The enumerators are well aware that the HH head may not know exactly how many were bought and sold since the last year. They know to go to the appropriate person.
3. The major owner of a herd exercises considerable rights concerning the fields upon which a cattle herd is tethered. In the context of the farming system, this is an important access to land improving inputs. Only cattle are used for tethering on farmland, hence I have changed "livestock" to the more specific cattle.
4. The answer to this question should only be "yes" if the person is currently living in the household living space.
5. Family = njaboot. This is a group "for which you have responsibility." The more general, wider grouping is "mbooka".
6. "aaba". "Suma la aaba, danga ma deelu." This land is always returned.
7. "loue". This is rent from the french. There are fixed payments at the end of which the land returns to the owner.
8. "Soo mbey be pare, noo seedo lu nga mbey." When you finish farming the plot, we will divide up what you have produced.
9. "leebal" At the end of a fixed period (say, a season), assuming the obligations have been fulfilled, the land will go to the person who has received the loan.
10. "Taile" "Dama la taile suma tool" I mortgage my land to you. If I do not come up with the returned amount before the set period is up, then the land turns over to you.
11. "Danu ma ko dinka" They entrusted the land to me, but I do not own it. They can take it back at any time. Distinction between entrust and borrow-out is in the initiation of the transfer.
12. "Njaboot"
13. "Dama la ko mey." Gift.
14. "weece". A land for land transfer. This happens very rarely.
15. "ntosan"
16. "dunda" = cereals. So, "Seen dunda, ndox dox na ren be dewen."
17. "ncho".
18. "Lan moo ko waral nchoi njakti" = what is the cause of disputes about parcels?
19. Renting generally occurs on the basis of the cropping season rather than the full year.
20. "Ban moo gena yoomba" = Literally, which is the easiest?
21. "Si yeen mbeykati bu nekka fi, ban njeffy-njeffy ngen am si seen tool yi?". Amongst the farmers that live here, what problems do you have with respect to your lands.

**Adult Questionnaire
PART I: REMITTANCES**

Adult Name and Surname: _____

We are interested here in material (cement, rice, etc.) and financial (cash) support given to the household by anyone. Be sure to ask about both part-year residents and non-household members who might have generated remittances.

Complete one line of the table for each gift over D250 received in the last year. A gift of one bag of rice during the year would not be included, since it has a value of about D150. But if someone sent a bag of rice every other month during the dry season, then it should be included, since the total value exceeds D250. Be sure to fill out one row in the table for each gift. You can use more than one line per person if they gave different types of gifts.

Gift #	Surname of Individual sending gifts	Gender of Sender	Occupation of Sender	Household Member?	Current Residence?	Description of Gift (e.g., "1 television set" or "5 bags of rice") <i>Use more than one line if needed</i>	Total Value (note currency)
		1 = Male 2 = Fem.		3 = Yes 4 = No	5 = Greater Banjul 6 = Elsewhere in Gambia 7 = Senegal 8 = other		

Have you personally given monetary or in-kind remittances of more than D250 to non-household members in the past year?
 1 = yes (complete table below)
 2 = no (skip to PART II, if applicable)

Gift #	Description of Gift (e.g., "1 television set" or "5 bags of rice") <i>Use more than one line if needed</i>	Total Value (note currency)

Adult Questionnaire
PART III: CREDIT AND WITHDRAWALS FROM OSUSU

Adult Name and Surname: _____

Include only the three largest loans or Osusu in the past year. Remember, this will include Osusu in addition to other loaning groups. Include only one osusu per column.

Loan or Osusu Questions	Codes	Loan or Osusu Number		
		1	2	3
1 Principle purpose?	1 = Home construction 2 = Purchase of durable goods 3 = Education 4 = Social obligations 5 = Medical needs 6 = Start a business 7 = Purchase agricultural inputs and equipment 8 = Other (note)			
2 Source?	1 = Bank 2 = HH member 3 = traders 4 = employer 5 = Other family and friends 6 = Moneylender 7 = Kafo 8 = Osusu 9 = GCU 10 = NGO 11 = Other (note)			
3 Description?	1 = In cash 2 = In kind 3 = Both			
4 Total value of loan or osusu?	<i>Convert loans made in-kind to cash value.</i>			
5 Description of payback interval for loan? (for osusu, interval between deposits)	1 = Day 2 = Week 3 = Month 4 = Year 5 = Undetermined 6 = other (note)			
6 Number of intervals of loan?				
7 Number of members of osusu?				
8 Amount paid back per interval?				
9 Any security? ²	1 = Farm Plot 2 = House 3 = Business 4 = Other (note) 5 = Farm output 6 = reciprocal loan 7 = guarantor 8 = none			

10. For osusu withdrawals, state the name of the osusu head³ along with the loan number: _____

11. Are you a member of a kafo?
1 = Yes (If yes, what is the name of the kafo head? _____)
2 = No

12. Are you a kafo head? 1 = Yes 2 = No13. Are you an osusu head? 1 = Yes 2 = No

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Adult Questionnaire
PART IV: LAND DISPUTES

Adult Name and Surname: _____

Question	Codes	# ___	# ___	# ___	# ___
1 Year dispute began?	<i>(enter year)</i>				
2 Year dispute resolved?	<i>(enter year or "8888" if unresolved)</i>				
3 Nature of the dispute?	1 = Boundary dispute 2 = Dispute over ownership rights 3 = other <i>(explain)</i>				
4 With whom did the dispute occur?	1 = owner of adjacent plot 2 = neighbor 3 = other individual in will 4 = Alkalo 5 = Government				
5 How was the dispute resolved?	1 = Alkalo 2 = Village council 3 = Courts 4 = Pending 5 = other <i>(explain)</i>				
6 What was the outcome of the dispute?	1 = Retained possession of plot 2 = lost entire plot 3 = forced to subdivide plot and give away portion 4 = other <i>(explain)</i>				

ENDNOTES

1. The enumerators will ask "How much would you estimate that you receive?" Estimate in Wolof is "misal." In general, the enumerators were not very confident in the quality of responses to be gotten from this question.

2. "Colare" in Wolof.

3. "head" is njit. This is usually a different person from the organizer.

PERI-URBAN HOUSEHOLD SURVEY
Plot Follow-up (Plots In and Out) Questionnaire

Questionnaire Begun: ___ / ___ / ___

Village: _____

Enumerator: _____

Household Head: _____

This is ___ of ___ Plots In and Out questionnaires.

This questionnaire should cover all plots included in the PARCEL AND FARM PLOT INVENTORY. You should complete the questions for fallow and uncultivated plots, but you do not need to measure the area of these plots. The questions should be directed to the Household Head if he is familiar with the plot under discussion. If you sense that he is not familiar with the plot, then direct the questions to the Plot Manager. Remember that there may be some questions which cannot be answered by members of the household. Examples of these might be questions about fruit production and sales on plots borrowed-in, rented-in or loaned-in.

PART I: DESCRIPTIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF PLOTS

Question	Codes	# -	# -	# -	# -
1 Is the household residence located on this plot?	1 = Yes 2 = No				
2 <i>Plot is located</i>	1 = In the compound 2 = Near the compound 3 = In the outer fields or bush				
3 How would you describe the soil of the plot?	1 = Kenye koyo or wulengo 2 = Kenye fingo 3 = Banko fingo 4 = Datto 5 = Barre messeng 6 = Combination (50/50)				
4 The soil from this plot is	1 = Very fertile 2 = Fertile ¹ 3 = Infertile				
5 What is the principle water source for the plot?	1 = Rainfall 2 = Shallow dirt well 3 = Deep dirt well 4 = Concrete lined well 5 = Other (<i>explain</i>)				
6 *** If you were to sell this plot, how much would you ask? ***					

PART II: LAND ACQUISITION HISTORIES

When referring to grouped rice and garden plots in this section, ask the respondent to refer to the majority of the grouped plots.

Right	Codes	# _ _	# _ _	# _ _	# _ _
1 How was the plot acquired? ²	1 = Inherited 2 = Spontaneous occupation 3 = Gift by Alkalo or Kabilo heads 4 = Purchased 5 = Concession from District Authorities 6 = Borrowed-in, rented-in, loaned-in or sharecropped 7 = Other (<i>explain</i>)				
2 From whom was the plot acquired?	1 = HH Member 2 = Founding family 3 = Compound Head 4 = Alkalo 5 = New settler in village 6 = Non-family villager 7 = Non-villager 8 = District authorities 9 = Government 10 = Other (<i>explain</i>)				
3 If the plot was inherited, in what year was it acquired?	<i>"1992" if 1992/93 season</i>				
<i>Was the plot purchased? (Check PARCEL AND PLOT INVENTORY)</i>	1 = Yes 2 = No (<i>skip to PART III</i>)				
4 If purchased, how much were the cash and in-kind costs in purchasing?	<i>amount in Dalasis</i>				
5 How was the purchased financed?	1 = Savings outside bank 2 = Withdrawal from bank 3 = Formal loan (bank etc.) 4 = Informal loan or osusu 5 = Other				
6 Was this purchase recorded with the Area Council?	1 = Yes 2 = No				
7 What was the primary motive for the purchase?	1 = Land for sons or inheritance 2 = Additional land for ag. production 3 = Additional land for residence 4 = Land is a good investment 5 = Other (<i>explain</i>)				

PART III: FRUIT SALES

Question	Codes	# -	# -	# -	# -
1 Enter the number of fruit trees by type on the plot? (enter "0" if none)	Mango				
	Orange				
	Lime				
	Cashew				
	Other				
2 Who controls the income from fruit sales produced on this plot?	1 = HH head 2 = Plot manager (if not HH head) 3 = Spouse (if neither of above) 4 = Other				
3 Value of citrus sales from this plot this season?					
4 Expected value of citrus sales to end of this season?					
5 Value of mango sales since this time last year?					
6 Value of other fruit sales since this time last year?					
7 Where was most of the fruit sold? (write name of village)					
8 To whom was most of the fruit sold?	1 = Consumers 2 = Senegalese traders 3 = Other Traders 4 = Hotels 5 = Export firms				
9 Marketing arrangement of sales?	1 = Verbal contract 2 = Written contract 3 = Informal				

PART IV: LAND RENTALS OR SHARECROPPING

	Codes	# -	# -	# -	# -
1 Was any cash or in-kind payment made for the use of this plot? (Note that the answer should certainly be "Yes" if the plot was rented or sharecropped and may be "Yes" if the plot was borrowed.)	1 = Yes 2 = No (skip to PART V)				
2 Amount of cash rent paid or received for plot?	(Dalasis)				
3 Frequency of payments?	1 = day 2 = month 3 = season 4 = year 5 = other				
4 Total cash rent for the plot?					
5 Total value of in-kind payments or sharecropping payments?	Write description of in-kind payments in the spaces below.				
6 Number of times in the past 5 years this same plot has been rented-in or rented-out.					

Description of payments for question 5 (e.g., for sharecropping, "10 percent of output produced").

Plot # _____:

Plot # _____:

PART V: INVESTMENTS IN THE PLOT

Question	Codes	# _ _	# _ _	# _ _	# _ _
1 Two cropping seasons ago (1991/92), the plot was	1 = Cultivated 2 = Fallow or uncleared				
2 If the plot was in fallow in 1991/92, how many years had it been in fallow consecutively?	"99" if he/she doesn't know. If more than 10, simply enter "11".				
3 For how many years has the plot been continuously cultivated?	"99" if he/she doesn't know. If more than 10, simply enter "11".				
4 Has the plot been manured by a tethered herd for the past three consecutive years?	1 = Yes 2 = No				
5 <u>Has a cement wall been built around the plot?</u>	3 = Yes 4 = No (skip to 6)				
a. Who did it?	1 = HH Head 3 = Other family 2 = Plot Manager 4 = Other				
b. When was it done?	1 = Before acquisition 3 = Both 2 = After acquisition				
c. Who granted you permission to make this improvement?	1 = Yourself 4 = Manager of plot (if not yourself) 2 = HH head (if not yourself) 5 = Alkalo or kabilo head 3 = Compound head (if not yourself) 6 = Village authority				
6 <u>Has a barbed wire fence, live fence or hard wood fence³ been built around the plot?</u>	3 = Yes 4 = No (skip to 7)				
a. Who did it?	1 = HH Head 3 = Other family 2 = Plot Manager 4 = Other				
b. When was it done?	1 = Before acquisition 3 = Both 2 = After acquisition				
c. Who granted you permission to make these improvements?	1 = Yourself 4 = Manager of plot (if not yourself) 2 = HH head (if not yourself) 5 = Alkalo or kabilo head 3 = Compound head (if not yourself) 6 = Village authority				
7 <u>Has a deep dirt well⁴ been dug for this plot?</u>	1 = Yes 2 = No (skip to 8)				
a. Who did it?	1 = HH Head 3 = Other family 2 = Plot Manager 4 = Other				
b. When was it done?	1 = Before acquisition 3 = Both 2 = After acquisition				
c. Who granted you permission to make these improvements?	1 = Yourself 4 = Manager of plot (if not yourself) 2 = HH head (if not yourself) 5 = Alkalo or kabilo head 3 = Compound head (if not yourself) 6 = Village authority				

8. Are you interested in further developing the land?^b

1 = Yes

2 = No (skip to PART VI)

9. How would you like to develop it? _____

10. Why haven't you developed it already? _____

PART VI: FARM PLOT AREA MEASUREMENTS

Using this form, you will measure the area of all of the plots included in the **PARCEL AND FARM PLOT INVENTORY** with the exception of those that were in fallow or uncultivated. Use your **PARCEL AND FARM PLOT INVENTORY** to locate each of the plots. The procedure for completing area measurement forms will be the same as the **NASS** except for swamp rice, donor gardens and private gardens. Rice area calculation can be completed in one of two ways. If all the manager's rice plots are contiguous, then measure the total area of the plot. If the plots are discrete, then measure one average sized plot on this form and indicate the total number of rice plots managed by that person. If you use the second method, you should be sure to have entries for (1) "Total Area" (which is actually the size of a representative plot), (2) "Number of Plots", and (3) "Estimated Area of all Plots".

Garden plots on donor schemes are not handled the same as those managed privately by vegetable gardeners. Since beds on donor schemes are generally of uniform length and width, you should simply indicate (1) length of one average bed, (2) width of one bed, and (3) the total number of beds managed by the manager. Enter the summed area of all gardens in the "Total Area" space. Treat private garden beds in exactly the same way as rice plots.

Side #	# -		# -		# -		# -	
	Distance	Angle	Distance	Angle	Distance	Angle	Distance	Angle
1								
2								
3								
4								
5								
6								
7								
8								
9								
10								
11								
12								
13								
14								
15								
Total Area								

55

ENDNOTES

1. "Dafa not" It is fertile.
2. Code numbers for borrowed-in, rented-in, loaned-in and sharecropped are grouped together here since this information is available from the PARCEL AND FARM PLOT INVENTORY.
3. In Wollof, these fences are "xed", which refers to a specific type of hard wood which can be quite expensive.
4. A deep well is "teen." The shallow wells found in gardens are called "sean."
5. "Ndox am nga eene defaar sa tool bi." Do you have the desire to develop your plot?

PERI-URBAN HOUSEHOLD SURVEY
 Plot Manager (Plots In) Questionnaire

Questionnaire Begun: ___ / ___ / ___

Village: _____

Enumerator: _____

This is ___ of ___ Plot Manager Questionnaires for this Household

PART I: PLOT IDENTIFICATION *(complete prior to arrival at household)*

This questionnaire should be completed for all plots managed by household members in the 1992/93 cropping season. The interview should take place with the Plot Manager himself or herself. If the manager is not present at the time of the initial interview, then arrange a time when the Manager will be available. If it is not possible to interview the Manager, indicate by completing the last row of the table below.

Before you arrive at the sample household, you should use the PARCEL AND FARM PLOT INVENTORY from the Household Head questionnaire to fill out the entire table below with the exception of the last row. Use one column for each plot managed by household members. You can thus have more than one Plot Manager on the same questionnaire. Remember that all the rice plots of a Plot Manager are treated as one plot for the purposes of this questionnaire. Similarly, the private garden plots and donor scheme garden plots of a Manager are treated here as separate individual plots.

Plot #	Codes	# - _	# - _	# - _	# - _
Plot Manager Name					
Plot Manager Surname					
Crop Name (not code)					
Manager is the Owner?	Y = Yes N = No				
Tenure Status?	<i>Write in tenure status from Inventory. Do not use code number.</i>				
Communal or Individual?	C = communal I = indiv'l				
Plot Manager is the Respondent?	Y = Yes N = No				

PART II: PERCEIVED USE RIGHTS

	Codes	# - _	# - _	# - _	# - _
<i>For the rights below, ask whether the Plot Manager is allowed to exercise them on the plot.</i>					
1 Plant fruit or field trees	1 = Yes, with authorization ¹ 2 = Yes, without authorization 3 = No 4 = Don't know				
2 Build a wall or fence around the plot					
3 Build a house or warehouse on the plot					
4 Bequeath to a family member					
5 Rent-out the plot					
6 Sell the plot					
7 Make improvements in water retention structures					

PART III: INPUT COSTS, PRODUCTION VALUE AND MANAGEMENT PRACTICES

All the questions in the table below refer to the period between now and one year ago.

	Code	# -	# -	# -	# -
1 Production from the Plot (<i>For traditional upland crops and rice, complete 1-8. For fruit orchards, complete 1i-8. For vegetables gardens, complete only 2-8. Do not enter information on fruit production in cropped fields in 1a-1j.</i>)					
a. Number of units <u>produced</u> on the plot					
b. Number of units <u>sold</u> from the plot					
c. Unit name					
d. Kilos per milled unit					
e. Dalasis per unit					
f. Dalasis per kilo					
g. Total <u>Value of Production</u>					
h. Total <u>Value of Sales</u>					
i. If intercropped, crop code of second crop ²					
j. If intercropped, value of second crop	<i>(intercropping here <u>excludes</u> fruit trees outside of orchards)</i>				
2 Was a herd tethered on this plot in the three months prior to planting?	1 = Yes 2 = No				
3 Was <u>chemical fertilizer</u> used on the plot?	3 = Yes 4 = No (<i>skip to 4</i>)				
a. What was the cost of fertilizer?					
b. What kind of fertilizer was used?	1 = SSP 2 = Urea 3 = Compound 4 = Urea + Compound 5 = Other				
4 Were <u>pesticides</u> used on the plot?	1 = Yes 2 = No (<i>skip to 5</i>)				
a. What was the cost of the pesticides?					
b. What types were used?	1 = Powder 2 = Liquid				
5 Were <u>tractors</u> used on the plot?	1 = Yes 2 = No (<i>skip to 6</i>)				
a. Amount paid for tractor services?					
6 Was <u>animal traction</u> used on the plot?	1 = Yes 2 = No (<i>skip to 7</i>)				
a. Was the traction owned, borrowed or hired?	3 = Owned 4 = Borrowed 5 = Hired				
b. Amount of payment, if any, for traction.					
7 Cost of seeds and transplants?					
8 Cost of other inputs on the plot					

PART IV: LABOR UTILIZATION

Has any wage labor been used on the plot for the following activities in the past year? *Tick in appropriate box if "yes".*

	# -			# -			# -			# -		
	Male Wage	Fem-ale Wage	Kafo Wage	Male Wage	Fem-ale Wage	Kafo Wage	Male Wage	Fem-ale Wage	Kafo Wage	Male Wage	Fem-ale Wage	Kafo Wage
1 Preparation/ Ploughing?												
2 Planting?												
3 Weeding?												
4 Harvesting?												
5 Watering?												
TOTAL REMUNERATION												

Has any Household (HH) labor been used for the following activities in the past year? *Tick in appropriate box if "yes".*

	# -			# -			# -			# -		
	HH Male Adult	HH Fem. Adult	HH Children	HH Male Adult	HH Fem. Adult	HH Children	HH Male Adult	HH Fem. Adult	HH Children	HH Male Adult	HH Fem. Adult	HH Children
1 Preparation/ Ploughing?												
2 Planting?												
3 Weeding?												
4 Harvesting?												
5 Watering?												

For which activities was it difficult to find sufficient labor in the 1992/93 cropping season? *Indicate answer by ticking the appropriate box.*

Activity	# -	# -	# -	# -
1 Preparation and Ploughing				
2 Planting				
3 Weeding				
4 Harvesting				
5 Watering				

1. If labor shortages exist, why not use more family labor on the activities?

2. If labor shortages exist, why not hire more labor?

ENDNOTES

1. "Ndox nga dem laaj ndigal" Do you have to go and ask for permission.
2. By "second crop" here is meant the "second most important crop in value terms."

PERI-URBAN HOUSEHOLD SURVEY
Vegetable Production Questionnaire

Questionnaire Begun: ___/___/___

Questionnaire Completed: ___/___/___

Enumerator: _____

Village: _____

Vegetable Producer: _____

Measurement of vegetable production will begin one day after you have completed your Household Head questionnaires. As the harvest periods of different crops pass, you will visit the gardeners and record the amount of produce they have harvested since your last visit. Keep in mind that we need to know quantity and value of total production as well as value of marketed quantity. In order to successfully complete this questionnaire, you will have to be aware of what vegetables are being harvested as the season progresses.

Only record sales which have occurred prior to the completion of the survey.

The crop codes for the remainder of this questionnaire follow below. Use the actual name if it is not included here.

PART I: GENERAL ISSUES

1. Which garden crops are you growing this year? *(circle all applicable)*

Garden Crops and Codes

21 = Tomato	26 = Sweet pepper ¹	31 = Potato/Sweet potato	36 = Pumpkin ³
22 = Eggplant	27 = Bulb Onion	32 = Lettuce (salad)	37 = Hot pepper ⁴
23 = Carrot	28 = Mandinka onion	33 = Cucumber	38 = Sorrel ("bisap") ⁵
24 = Bitter tomato	29 = French beans	34 = Greens ²	39 = Other <i>(note)</i>
25 = Okra	30 = Cabbage	35 = Melon	

2. How many years ago did you begin to grow vegetables? _____
3. Since you began vegetable gardening, has the area you are farming
- 1 = increased
2 = decreased
3 = stayed the same
4. Who controls the disposition of sales income from gardening?
- 1 = household head
2 = plot owner (if not manager)
3 = plot manager
4 = other _____

ENDNOTES

1. This is green pepper. "Kani tubob."
2. The most common of the green leaves are "kereng-kereng." These leaves and other green leaves are very common. They are sometimes referred to in English as 'spinach' although it is not the same plant as our spinach. (Check this with Isatou). Another one of these green leaves is used in the popular dish used called "palaasas."
3. "Banga".
4. "Kani bu sew", "kani xenal", "kani bu ndija". All of these are included here.
5. "Bisap"
6. Contract farming occurs when exporters give vegetable producers seeds or other inputs and promise to buy the produce after the harvest.

Annex D

LISTINGS OF LAND SALES AND REGISTRATIONS, LAND MARKET SURVEY

Annex D

LISTINGS OF LAND SALES AND REGISTRATIONS, LAND MARKET SURVEY

1. Land transfers, Brikama Area Council (BAC). The BAC is charged with tax collection at the division level. Land sellers have an incentive to register the transfer to avoid being contacted for tax payments in subsequent years. Land buyers have an incentive to record the transfer to enhance their tenure security; although the records do not constitute legal documents, certificates or receipts documenting claims are preferred to having no documents at all. All transfers are recorded in the list from 1986 (possibly 1976 if time permits) to present.

Transfer identification number
Person reporting (buyer or seller)
Name and address of seller
Name and address of buyer
Location of plot
Dimensions of plot
Date plot acquired
Nature of ownership (Alkalo/customary, purchased, inherited)
Sub-division (whether whole or partial transfer)
Land use (agricultural, residential or commercial if stated)
Date of application
Date transfer approved

2. Leasehold registrations in outlying districts, Brikama District Commissioner's Office (BDC). Land holders under the land law can convert their tenure from customary land rights in the parcel to a 99 year leasehold. The Brikama District Commissioner's office contains the registry of all registrations and leasehold transfers for the districts of Kombo North, Kombo Central, Kombo South, and Kombo East. All registrations are recorded from the first registration in 1946 through 31 March 1993.

Lease number
Name of registrant
Address of registrant
Location of plot
Annual rent
Term of Lease
Date lease commenced
Date lease expires

Note, each lease on the register may contain multiple entries on the listing. The 1st line of the listing is the original lease, the 2nd line is the first transfer, the 3rd line is the second transfer, etc. If the leasehold is still in the name of the original lessee, only one line per lease on the listing will be shown.

3. Leasehold registrations in Kanifing, Department of Lands and Surveys, Banjul. The Department of Lands and Surveys in Banjul manages the registration of properties in Banjul and Kombo St. Mary. Because of the large

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number of registrations in the register, only those leases issued from 1 January 1980 through 31 March 1993 are recorded in the listing.

Lease number
Date of registration or assignment
Nature of transfer (grant, assignment, sublease or mortgage)
Grantee's name (1st line) or assignor's name (2nd and subsequent lines up to current holder unless interspersed by subleases or mortgages)
Grantee address (no address for assignor, sublessor or mortgagee)
Name of assignee, tenant, bank (or other agent imposing lien)
Land area (original lease)
Location of parcel (address)
Sublease (or mortgage) period
Portion subleased or assigned (whole, part or other indicator)
Amount of lease paid by sublessor

4. Deeds register, Ministry of Justice. Records of conveyances, assignments, leases, mortgages, supplementary mortgages, and judgements are contained in the deeds register, Ministry of Justice. A conveyance is the transfer of freehold property. An assignment is the transfer (sale or gift) of leasehold property. All records are recorded for all provinces for the period 1985 to present.

Date of receipt
Date of execution
Nature of instrument
Lease/conveyance number if applicable
Situation of land
Grantor
Grantee
Stamp

Annex E

Leaseholds Registered and Transferred by District

Annex E

Leaseholds Registered and Transferred by District

	1987		1988		1989		1990		1991		1992	
	TL	TT										
Kombo North	32	5	91	10	123	9	199	13	256	7	180	7
Kombo Central	12	4	28	2	24	1	19	7	28	2	23	1
Kombo South	-	1	6	-	4	-	3	-	11	-	19	1
Kombo East	1	1	1	-	4	-	-	-	2	2	4	-
Total	45	11	126	12	155	10	221	20	297	11	226	9

TL = total original leaseholds; TT = total transfers of existing leaseholds.

Annex F

Questionnaire, Land Market Buyer Questionnaire

**PERI-URBAN LAND MARKET SURVEY
LAND ACQUIRER QUESTIONNAIRE**

Greetings and Explanations

After obligatory greetings, explain to the respondent that researchers from the States and The Gambia will use the information from the survey to improve the operation of the land market and the leasehold registration process. Be sure to inform the respondent that the survey will take from about an hour. If you do not give them a clear idea of the kinds of questions you will be asking. Otherwise, you risk them withdrawing from the survey before it is completed. Be sure to make it clear that respondent(s) can refuse to participate. Also, inform the acquirer that the individual who disposed the land will also be interviewed. Make it clear that the respondent was chosen randomly. Finally, be sure to make it clear that all information collected will be kept strictly confidential.

Definition of Terms Used

"Acquirer" refers to an individual who has acquired a plot in one of the following ways: a cash or in-kind transaction, a customary transfer or a formal leasehold. "Seller" refers to the individual who disposed the plot. "Designated plot" refers to the specific piece of land selected from the listings in either the Brikama Area Council or the Brikama District Commissioner's office. A "customary" transfer refers to the indigenous transfer of land from an alkalo to an individual.

SAMPLE IDENTIFIERS

Non-reponse		If not interviewed, code 1 = deceased 2 = could not be located 3 = unwilling to cooperate	
Transaction ID		Date of interview	
Name of enumerator		Enumerator code	
Name of respondent		Respondent code	1 = acquirer 2 = seller

PART I: INFORMATION FROM THE BRIKAMA AREA COUNCIL LISTINGS

These data should be filled in from the Brikama Area Council listing prior to the interview to insure that you and the respondent are referring to the "designated" plot.

1. Name of seller	
2. Address of seller (street, village, town, district, telephone no.)	
3. Name of acquirer	
4. Address of acquirer (street, village, town, district, telephone no.)	
5. Location of plot (street,village/town,district)	
6. Dimensions of plot	
7. Nature of Acquisition (1 = purchase, 2 = gift from <i>alkalo</i> , 3 = customary)	
8. Date transfer approved	
9. Whole plot(=1) or sub-division(=2)	

PART II: CURRENT CHARACTERISTICS OF LAND ACQUIRER

Land holder demographics	Codes	Responses
1. Age	1=0-15 years 2=16-25 years 3=26-35 years	4=36-45 years 5=46-55 years 6=56+ years
2. Sex	1= male	2= female
3. Marital status ¹	1= single 2= married	3= divorced 4= widowed
4. How many wives?		
5. Religion	1= Muslim 2= Christian	3= other (note)
6. Has the acquirer made the <i>hajj</i> ?	1= yes	2= no
7. If yes, how many times?		
8. Leadership position(s) in community	0= none 1= <i>alkalo</i> 2= <i>marabout/imam</i> 3= village council	4= <i>kafoo head</i> 5= <i>seyfou</i> 6= other (note)
9. Nationality	1= Gambian 2= Senegalese 3= Mauritanian	4= Lebanese 5= Guinea/Guinea-Bissau 6= other (note)
10. Ethnicity	1= Wolof 2= Mandinka 3= Fula	4= Jola 5= Serahuli 6= other (note)
11. Relationship to household head	1= head 2= wife/husband 3= mother/father 4= son/daughter 5= brother/sister	6= cousin 7= nephew/niece 8= uncle/aunt 9= in-law 10= non-family
12. Relationship to <i>Alkalo</i> in village where plot acquired	1= member of household/compound 2= relative 3= close friend 4= acquaintance	5= acquirer's family lives in <i>alkalo's</i> village 6= not acquainted before acquisition
13. Highest educational level achieved	1= primary 2= secondary 3= technical school	4= university 5= Koranic 6= no formal
14. English Comprehension	1= speak 2= read/write	3= both 4= neither

¹ For marital status ask male respondents how many wives they have.

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PART III: SETTLEMENT HISTORY OF LAND ACQUIRER

Has the land acquirer changed his/her current place of residence in the last ten years?		1=yes (<i>continue</i>) 2=no (<i>skip to IV</i>)		
Location ² (Name of village, district, country)	Year changed residence	Principle Reasons for Changing Location		Principle source of employment prior to change of address
		Most important reason	Other reason	
Principle Reasons for Changing Residence 1=employment related 2=cheaper cost of living 3=occupy own house/compound 4=better access to schools or hospitals		Principle Employment 1=farming 2=teaching 3=security guard 4=civil servant 5=trader or shopkeeper 6=laborer or porter 7=health worker		8=electrician/plumber 9=hotel/restaurant 10=military/police 11=construction 12=mechanic/engineer 13=metalworker/carpenter 14=driver 15=other (<i>specify</i>)

² If the respondent has changed residences within a village, specify the area/region within the village.

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PART IV: MARKET STRUCTURE (Land Transaction Linkages)

1. How was the plot acquired?	1=inherited 2=gift 3=purchased	4=borrowed, rented, sharecropped 5=through marriage 6=other (specify)	
2. Acquired in what year?			
3. Acquired from whom?	1=relative 2=close friend 3= <i>dabada</i> head 4= <i>kabilo</i> head 5= <i>alkalo</i>	6=village founding family 7=other villager 8=non-villager 9=other (explain)	
4. If acquired from relative, state relationship.			
5. How did the acquirer become acquainted with seller/dispenser?	1=contacted <i>alkalo</i> or family in home village 2=introduced by friend or relative 3=introduced by agent	4=through personal contacts 5=through business contacts 6=friend/relative 7=other (<i>explain</i>)	
6. Does the acquirer currently have any contact with the seller?	1=person deceased 2=visit regularly 3=provide seasonal labor to person 4=pay land rent to person	5=related by marriage to person 6=member of household 7=no contact	
<p><i>Describe any links or relations to the seller or the seller's family not described above:</i></p>			

PART V: NATURE OF ACQUIRER'S LAND TRANSACTION

1. Who initiated the transaction?	1=acquirer (<i>continue</i>)	2=seller (<i>skip to 5</i>)	
2. Domain of search	1=no search 2=in residence village only	3=nearby villages (within 10 miles) 4=in distant areas (beyond 10 miles)	
3. Intensity of search	1=no search 2=casual search	3=active search	
4. Who was contacted in finding the plot?	1= <i>alkalo</i> 2= <i>seyfou</i> 3=friends/relatives 4=real estate agent	5=Area Council 6=District Commissioner 7=lawyer 8=other (<i>specify</i>)	
5. Who was involved in negotiating the terms of sale or transfer? (<i>multiple responses permitted</i>)			
6. From whom did the acquirer seek permission to acquire the plot? (<i>multiple responses permitted</i>)	1=no one 2=compound head 3= <i>dabada</i> head 4=elder 5= <i>alkalo</i> 6= <i>seyfou</i>	7=relative 8=Area Council 9=District Commissioner 10=other villager 11=non-villager 12=other (<i>explain</i>)	
7. How many different <i>alkalos</i> were visited in the search for land?	0=if none		
8. How were the visited <i>alkalos</i> chosen?	0=none visited 1= <i>alkalo</i> in home village 2= <i>alkalos</i> identified by friend/relative	3=Located plot then sought <i>alkalo</i> 4=other (<i>note</i>)	
9. Interval between date of first contact with previous holder and the date of final negotiation of terms of sale	specify number of weeks or months		
10. Interval between date of final negotiation and the date the acquirer assumed control of plot			
11. Does the acquirer feel that a fair price was paid for the plot?	1=fair price 2=paid too much	2=paid less than the value of plot	
12. Cash payment amount	(dalasis)		
13. In-kind payment?	1=yes (<i>continue</i>)	2=no (<i>skip to 15</i>)	
14. List in-kind goods paid for land, quantities and estimated value:			
15. Approximately how much would it cost to acquire the plot today?	(dalasis)		
16. Did the acquirer have to pay for improvements to the plot before the purchase could be approved by the government?	1=yes	2=no	
17. List any source of finance for acquisition (<i>multiple response permitted</i>)	1=personal savings 2=grant from relative 3=money from parents 4=loan from parents 5=loan from relative 6=loan from bank	7=remittances 8=loan from employer 9=loan from <i>osusu</i> 10=loan from <i>kafoo</i> 11=other (<i>specify</i>)	

18. Were any gifts, gratuities or fees paid to obtain permission to purchase the plot?	1=yes (continue)	2=no (skip to 20)	
19. List amounts and position(s) of person(s) receiving the above payments?			
20. Were any gifts, gratuities or fees paid to register the plot?	1=yes (continue)	2=no (skip to 22)	
21. List amounts and position(s) of person(s) receiving the above payments?			
22. Describe terms of sale or payments not noted above:			

PART VI: LEASEHOLD REGISTRATION

How many times were each of the following places visited in acquiring the leasehold:		
District Commissioner's office (registry)	State number of times each place was visited.	
District authorities (<i>seyfou</i> and/or <i>alkalo</i>)		
Divisional planning office		
Ministry of local government and lands		
Survey office		
Fees/gratuities paid (application, survey costs) aside from travel costs	List type and amount.	
How important are the following benefits of registration:		
Increases security of land rights	1=very important 2=important 3=not important 4=don't know	
Increases security against sale or eviction by <i>alkalo</i>		
Increases security for bank loans		
Enables one to sell land		

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PART VII: MARKET EVOLUTION

1. Land use of plot under previous holder (multiple responses permitted)	1=residential 2=agricultural-orchard 3=agricultural-garden 4=agricultural-cropping 5=commercial	6=industrial 7=idle or waste ground 8=mixed resid./agricultural 9=other (<i>explain</i>) 10=unknown	
2. Land tenure status under previous holder	0=unknown 1=retained possession	2=rented or borrowed out to someone 3=other (<i>note</i>)	
3. Did the acquirer use the plot to establish a household?	1=yes	2=no	
4. Primary reason for acquiring plot	1=for children or inheritance 2=for agricultural 3=for residence 4=savings	5=investment 6=for use as collateral for loan 7=other (<i>explain</i>)	
5. Other reason for acquiring plot			
6. Has the plot been pledged as collateral for a loan?	1=yes (<i>continue</i>)	2=no (<i>skip to 12</i>)	
7. List amount of and loan.	(dalasis)		
8. Year of loan			
9. Duration of loan	1= seasonal 2= 1 year	3= 2-5 years 4= 5+years	
10. Give purpose(s) of loan.	1=house construction or maintenance 2=business venture 3=establishment of farm/garden/orchard 4=labor hiring 5=purchase of agricultural inputs 6=purchase of agricultural equipment	7=purchase of consumer durable goods 8=educational expenses 9=social obligations (wedding, funeral, etc.)	
11. Loan from whom?	1=bank 2=moneylender 3= <i>osusu</i> 4= <i>kafoo</i>	5=employer 6=family/relative 7=friend 8=other (<i>note</i>)	
12. Current use of plot (multiple responses permitted)	1=residential 2=agricultural-orchard 3=agricultural-garden 4=agricultural-cropping 5=commercial	6=industrial 7=idle or waste ground 8=mixed resid./agricultural 9=other (<i>explain</i>)	
13. Current land tenure status	1=retained possession 2=rented or borrowed-out to someone	3=other (<i>note</i>)	
14. Has the plot been disposed?	1=yes (<i>continue</i>)	2=no (<i>skip to VII</i>)	
15. How was the plot disposed?	1=sold 2=gift to child 3=gift to relative	4=gift related to marriage 5=other (<i>specify</i>)	
16. Principle reason for disposition	1=not disposed 2=changed residences 3=money for durable goods 4=money for education 5=money for funeral, wedding or other social obligation 6=money for medical needs	7=money for business venture 8=money for agricultural inputs or equipment 9=to sell while price was high 10=moved from area 11=other (<i>explain</i>)	

17. To whom was the plot disposed?	1=not disposed 2=household member 3=relative 4= <i>dabada</i> head 5= <i>kabilo</i> head	6= <i>alkalo</i> 7=village founding family 8=other villager 9=non-villager 10=other (<i>explain</i>)	
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PART VIII: INCOME FROM PLOT		
1. Does the acquirer occupy the plot?	1=yes (<i>skip to XI</i>) 2=no (<i>continue</i>)	
2. Does the plot have buildings?	1= yes (<i>continue</i>) 2=no (<i>skip to 4</i>)	
3. Total cash rent from buildings on plot per period in previous year?	<i>(dalasis)</i>	
4. Is the land rented out?	1=yes (<i>continue</i>) 2=(<i>skip to VIII</i>)	
5. Cash rent or in-kind rent received for land	specify per month or season	
6. Number of times land has been rented-out since acquisition.		

PART IX: LAND DISPUTES

1. Was there any dispute in the process of acquiring the plot?	1=yes (<i>continue</i>)	2= no (<i>skip to 5</i>)	
2. Describe nature of dispute.	1=boundary dispute 2=ownership dispute	3=other (<i>explain</i>)	
3. Dispute was with whom?	1=seller of plot 2=another buyer of plot	3= <i>alkalo</i> 4=other (<i>note</i>)	
4. How was the dispute resolved?	1=legal decision 2=financial settlement	3=other (<i>note</i>)	
4. Persons involved in resolving the dispute?	1= <i>alkalo</i> 2= <i>seyfou</i> 3= law courts	3=village council 4=other (<i>note</i>)	
5. Since acquisition, has there been any dispute over the property?	1=yes (<i>continue</i>)	2= no (<i>skip to X</i>)	
6. Describe nature of dispute.	1=boundary dispute 2=ownership dispute	3=other (<i>explain</i>)	
7. Dispute was with whom?	1=seller of plot 2=another buyer of plot	3= <i>alkalo</i> 4=other (<i>note</i>)	
8. Has the dispute been resolved?	1=yes (<i>continue</i>)	2=no (<i>skip to 11</i>)	
9. How was the dispute resolved?	1=legal decision 2=financial settlement	3=other (<i>note</i>)	
10. Persons involved in resolving dispute	1= <i>alkalo</i> 2= <i>seyfou</i> 3= law courts	3=village council 4=other (<i>note</i>)	
11. Comments (<i>Give details of dispute(s) noted above</i>):			

PART X: SAMPLE PLOT CHARACTERISTICS

	Codes	Responses
1. Area	(m x m) or ha	
2. Distance to place of residence	1=nearby 2=not far 3=far	
3. Distance to principle market		
4. Distance to hospital/clinic		
5. Distance to school		
6. Soil type	1=kenyo koyo or wulengo 2=kenyo fingo 3=banko fingo	4=datto 5=berre messengo 6=combination
7. Principle water source	1=rainfall 2=shallow dirt well 3=deep dirt well 4=concrete-lined well	5=private tap 6=public tap 7=other (<i>explain</i>)
Were the following attributes present when the plot was acquired?		
8. Adjacent to paved(tar) road	1=yes 2=no	
9. Adjacent to gravel road		
10. Access to telephone lines		
11. Access to electric lines		
12. Access to water main		
	Improvement present? 1=yes 2=no	Who paid for the improvement? 1=acquirer 2=seller 3=other(<i>note</i>)
13. Plot connected to telephone lines		
14. Plot connected to electric lines		
15. Plot connected to water main		
16. Cement wall fencing		
17. Other fencing		
18. Buildings		
19. Fruit trees		
20. List type and number of fruit trees:		
21. Of the characteristics above, which three were the most important in your decision to acquire the land? (1= most important)	1: 2: 3:	

PART XI: PRIMARY STRUCTURES ON PLOT

Are there huts or buildings on the plot?				1 = yes (<i>continue</i>)	2 = no (<i>skip to Part XII</i>)	
	Structure 1	Structure 2	Structure 3	Structure 4	Structure 5	Structure 6
Built by whom? 1 = seller 2 = acquirer						
Number of indoor bathrooms/toilets						
Number of rooms						
Roof made of						
Walls made of						
Principle use						
Total cost of construction/repairs since acquisition (dalasis)						
Roof material 1 = Straw, reed, thatch 2 = Corrugate 3 = Reinforced concrete 4 = Temporary materials 5 = Other		Wall material 1 = Solid concrete or cement block 2 = Mud bricks covered with plaster 3 = Uncovered brick 4 = Straw, reed, thatch 5 = corrugate 6 = wood 7 = other (brick) 8 = Temporary material		Principle use 1 = place of residence 2 = storage 3 = livestock 4 = commercial 5 = house/shop for renting		

PART XII: SUPPLEMENTARY EVOLUTION AND STRUCTURE QUESTIONS

Comprehensive Land Use History (all plots other than designated plot still held or ever held by land acquirer). List plots in sequence, e.g. #1, #2. If a partial plot was disposed, list the portion with the same number as the full plot, adding a letter, e.g. #2a.

Does the acquirer hold or has the acquirer ever held plots other than the designated plot?		1 = yes (<i>continue</i>) 2 = no (<i>skip to Part XIII</i>)					
	PLOT NUMBER:						
1. Year acquired	19__						
2. Acquisition method	1 = inherited 2 = gift 3 = purchased	4 = borrowed, rented, sharecropped 5 = other (<i>specify</i>)					
3. Acquired from whom?	1 = hh member 2 = relative (explain in comments) 3 = <i>dabada</i> head 4 = <i>kabilo</i> head	5 = <i>alkalo</i> 6 = village founding family 7 = other villager 8 = non-villager 9 = other (explain)					
4. Primary reason for acquiring land	1 = for children or inheritance 2 = for agricultural production 3 = for residence 4 = savings/investment	5 = for use as collateral 6 = compound for new wife 7 = other (<i>explain</i>)					
5. Use under previous holder immediately prior to transfer of land	1 = residential 2 = agricultural-orchard 3 = agricultural-garden	6 = industrial 7 = idle or waste ground 8 = mixed resid./agricultural					
6. Use of plot today	4 = agricultural-cropping 5 = commercial	9 = other (<i>explain</i>)					
7. Current land tenure status	1 = retained 2 = rented or borrowed-out to acquirer	3 = rented or borrowed out to someone other than acquirer 4 = other (<i>note</i>)					
8. Is plot registered as a leasehold?	1 = yes	2 = no					
9. Has the <i>alkalo</i> ever taken back a piece of the plot?	1 = yes	2 = no					
10. Plot disposed?	1 = yes (<i>continue</i>)	2 = no (<i>go back to 1</i>)					
11. Year disposed							
12. Disposal method	1 = sold 2 = given away 3 = taken back by <i>alkalo</i> 4 = exchanged	5 = taken back by previous owner 6 = bequeathed 7 = other (<i>explain</i>)					
13. Disposed to whom?	1 = hh member 2 = relative (<i>note</i>) 3 = <i>alkalo</i>	4 = village founding family 5 = other villager 6 = non-villager 7 = other (<i>explain</i>)					
14. Principle reason for disposition	1 = changed residences 2 = money for durable goods 3 = money for education 4 = money for funeral, wedding or other social obligation 5 = money for medical needs	6 = money for business venture 7 = money for agricultural inputs or equipment 8 = to sell while price was high 9 = moved from area 10 = other (<i>explain</i>)					

PART XIII: EMPLOYMENT AND INCOME OF LAND ACQUIRER

A. Does the acquirer own any stores, shops or businesses?		1 = yes (<i>continue</i>) 2 = no (<i>skip to B</i>)			
Type of business	Number of shops/stores	Number of employees	Average monthly net income (dalasis)	Estimated value of mahinery/equipment	Estimated value of building(s)
B. Does the acquirer own any rental properties other than the designated plot?		1 = yes (<i>continue</i>) 2 = no (<i>skip to C</i>)			
Number of residential rental units		Number of commercial rental units	Average monthly rental income (dalasis)	Estimated value of properties	
C. Is the acquirer involved in any wage, salaried, trading or other income-generating activities?		1 = yes 2 = no (<i>skip to D</i>)			
Activity	How much earned per period? (<i>dalasis/period</i>)	How many periods per year in previous year?	Net Income (dalasis)		
D. Did the acquirer have agricultural holding(s) in the previous year?		1 = yes (<i>continue</i>) 2 = no (<i>skip to E</i>)			
Income in previous year from cropping		Income in previous year from orchards/fruit trees		Income in previous year from vegetable gardening	
Number of permanent employees		Number of temporary employees		Total wages paid during previous year	

PART XIII: EMPLOYMENT AND INCOME OF LAND ACQUIRER

E. Did the acquirer receive any material (cement, rice, etc.) or financial support > 500 dalasis in value in the previous year? (Be sure to ask about both part-year residents and non-household members.)		1 = yes (continue) 2 = no (skip to XIV)		
Occupation of sender	Household member? 1 = yes 2 = no	Current residence 1 = The Gambia 2 = Senegal 3 = Europe 4 = United States 5 = other (specify country)	Description of in-kind gift (e.g., "1 television set" or "5 bags of rice")	Total value (dalasis)

PART XIV: CHARACTERISTICS OF ACQUIRER'S HOUSEHOLD

"Household" is defined as those who pool their resources in the process of production and share in the output. Household members are individuals who were resident in the household for more than six months in the previous year.

A. Household demographics

	Male	Female
Number of children < 16 years of age		
Number of household members between 16 and 55 years of age		
Number of household members 56+ years of age		

B. Economic producers of the household

For each economically active member in the household, complete the following:

Relationship to household head	Sex	Education	Employment
1			
2			
3			
4			
5			
6			

Sex 1 = male 2 = female	Relation to HH head 1 = head 2 = wife/husband 3 = father/mother 4 = son/daughter 5 = brother/sister 6 = cousin 7 = nephew/niece 8 = uncle/aunt 9 = in-law 10 = non-family	Education 1 = primary 2 = secondary 3 = technical 4 = university 5 = Koranic 6 = no formal	Employment 1 = farming 2 = teaching 3 = security guard 4 = civil servant 5 = trader or shopkeeper 6 = laborer or porter 7 = health worker	8 = electrician/plumber 9 = hotel/restaurant 10 = military/police 11 = construction 12 = mechanic/engineer 13 = metalworker/carpenter 14 = driver 15 = other (specify)
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PART XV: ASSETS OF THE ACQUIRER'S HOUSEHOLD

A. How many of each of the following does the household have?	Number (0 = none)		Number (0=none)
Refrigerator		Motorcycle	
Telephone		Car/truck	
Gas or electric stove		Television	
Bicycle		Generator	

B. How many animals does the acquirer's household currently own?

	Number		Number of each		Number
Oxen/Cattle		Horses		Sheep	
Chickens		Donkeys		Goats	

PART XVI: ENUMERATOR'S ASSESSMENT

Did the respondent seem cooperative?	1 = very cooperative 2 = somewhat cooperative 3 = uncooperative	
How would you rate the quality of information in general given by the respondent?	1 = very reliable 2 = somewhat reliable 3 = unreliable	
Did the respondent express concerns about how this information would be used?	1 = yes 2 = no	

PART VI: LEASEHOLD REGISTRATION

Reasons for not registering plot	1=Too expensive 2=Process too time-consuming 3=Procedures too complicated 4= <i>alkalo</i> did not grant permission when asked 5= <i>alkalo</i> would refuse if asked 6=Registration would upset family/neighbor relations	
How important are the following benefits of registration:		
Increases security of land rights	1=very important	
Increases security against sale or eviction by <i>alkalo</i>	2=important	
Increases security for bank loans	3=not important	
Enables one to sell land	4=don't know	

Annex G

Questionnaire, Land Market Seller Questionnaire

**PERI-URBAN LAND MARKET SURVEY
LAND SELLER QUESTIONNAIRE**

Greetings and Explanations

After obligatory greetings, explain to the respondent that researchers from the States and The Gambia will use the information from the survey to improve the operation of the land market and the leasehold registration process. Be sure to inform the respondent that the survey will take about an hour. If you do not give them a clear idea of the kinds of questions you will be asking, you risk them withdrawing from the survey before it is completed. Be sure to make it clear that respondent(s) can refuse to participate. Also, inform the seller that the individual who acquired the land will also be interviewed. Make it clear that the respondent was chosen randomly. Finally, be sure to make it clear that all information collected will be kept strictly confidential.

Definition of Terms Used

"Acquirer" refers to an individual who has acquired a plot in one of the following ways: a cash or in-kind transaction, a customary transfer or a formal leasehold. "Seller" refers to the individual who disposed the plot. "Designated plot" refers to the specific piece of land selected from the listings in either the Brikama Area Council or the Brikama District Commissioner's office. A "customary" transfer refers to the indigenous transfer of land from an alkalo to an individual.

SAMPLE IDENTIFIERS

Non-reponse		If not interviewed, code 1=deceased 2=could not be located 3=unwilling to cooperate	
Transaction ID		Date of interview	
Name of enumerator		Enumerator ID	
Name of respondent		Respondent code	1 = acquirer 2 = seller

PART I: VERIFICATION OF PLOT INFORMATION

These data should be filled in prior to the interview to insure that you and the respondent are referring to the "designated" plot.

1. Name of seller	
2. Address of seller (street, village, town, district, telephone no.)	
3. Name of acquirer	
4. Address of acquirer (street, village, town, district, telephone no.)	
5. Location of plot (street,village/town,district)	
6. Dimensions of plot	
7. Nature of acquisition (1=purchase, 2=gift from alkalo, 3=other (note))	
8. Date transfer approved	
9. Whole plot(=1) or sub-division(=2)	

PART II: CURRENT CHARACTERISTICS OF SELLER

Seller demographics	Codes	Responses
1. Age	1=0-15 years 2=16-25 years 3=26-35 years 4=36-45 years 5=46-55 years 6=56+ years	
2. Sex	1=male 2=female	
3. Marital status ¹	1=single 2=married 3=divorced 4=widowed	
4. How many wives?		
5. Religion	1= Muslim 2=Christian 3=other (note)	
6. Has the seller made the <i>haj</i> ?	1=yes 2=no	
7. If yes, how many times?		
8. Leadership position(s) in community	0=none 1= <i>alkalo</i> 2= <i>marabout/imam</i> 3=village council 4= <i>kafoo head</i> 5= <i>seyfou</i> 6=other (note)	
9. Nationality	1=Gambian 2=Senegalese 3=Mauritanian 4=Lebanese 5=Guinea/Guinea-Bissau 6=other (note)	
10. Ethnicity	1=Wolof 2=Mandinka 3=Fula 4=Jola 5=Serahuli 6=other (note)	
11. Relationship to household head	1=head 2=wife/husband 3=mother/father 4=son/daughter 5=brother/sister 6=cousin 7=nephew/niece 8=uncle/aunt 9=in-law 10=non-family	
12. Relationship to <i>Alkalo</i> in village where plot disposed	1=member of household/compound 2=relative 3=close friend 4=acquaintance 5=seller's family lives in <i>alkalo's</i> village 6=not acquainted before acquisition	
13. Highest educational level achieved	1=primary 2=secondary 3=technical school 4=university 5=Koranic 6=no formal	
14. English Comprehension	1=speak 2=read/write 3=both 4=neither	

¹ For marital status ask male respondents how many wives they have.

PART III: SETTLEMENT HISTORY OF SELLER

Has the seller changed his/her current place of residence in the last ten years?		1=yes (<i>continue</i>)	2=no (<i>skip to IV</i>)	
Location ² (Name of village, district, country)	Year changed residence	Principle Reasons for Changing Location		Principle source of employment prior to change of address
		Most important reason	Other reason	
Principle Reasons for Changing Residence 1=employment related 2=cheaper cost of living 3=occupy own house/compound 4=better access to schools or hospitals 5=drought/climate-related 6=wanted or needed bigger compound 7=better living conditions 8=better access to infrastructure 9=land for agricultural purposes 10=other (<i>note</i>)		Principle Employment 1=farming 2=teaching 3=security guard 4=civil servant 5=trader or shopkeeper 6=laborer or porter 7=health worker		8=electrician/plumber 9=hotel/restaurant 10=military/police 11=construction 12=mechanic/engineer 13=metalworker/carpenter 14=driver 15=other (<i>specify</i>) 16=general business

PART IV: MARKET STRUCTURE (Land Transaction Linkages)

<i>Ask the seller about his or her own acquisition of the designated plot.</i>			
1. How was the plot acquired?	1=inherited 2=gift 3=purchased	4=borrowed, rented, sharecropped 5=through marriage 6=other (<i>specify</i>)	
2. Acquired in what year?	19__		
3. Acquired from whom?	1=relative 2=close friend 3= <i>dabada</i> head 4= <i>kabilo</i> head 5= <i>alkalo</i>	6=village founding family 7=other villager 8=non-villager 9=other (<i>explain</i>)	
4. If acquired from relative, state relationship.			
5. How did the respondent become acquainted with the previous land holder?	1=contacted <i>alkalo</i> or family in home village 2=introduced by friend or relative 3=introduced by agent	4=through personal contacts 5=through business contacts 6=friend/relative 7=other (<i>explain</i>)	

² If the respondent has changed residences within a village, specify the area/region within the village.

6. How much did the respondent pay for the plot?	Cash: In-Kind:	
7. Does the respondent currently have any contact with the previous land holder?	1=person deceased 2=visit regularly 3=provide seasonal labor to person 4=pay land rent to person	5=related by marriage to person 6=member of household 7=other (note) 8=no contact
<i>Describe any links or relations to the previous holder or the previous holder's family not described above:</i>		

PART V: LEASEHOLD REGISTRATION		
1. Was the plot registered as a leasehold?	1=yes (continue)	2=no (skip to 4)
2. Did the respondent ask a higher price because he/she held a leasehold?	1=yes	2=no
4. How important are the following benefits of registration:		
Increases security of land rights	1=very important 2=important 3=not important 4=don't know	
Increases security against sale or eviction by <i>alkalo</i>		
Increases security for bank loans		
Enables one to sell land		
5. For non-leaseholders, reason(s) for not registering as a leasehold	1=Too expensive 2=Process too time-consuming 3=Procedures too complicated 4= <i>alkalo</i> did not grant permission when asked 5= <i>alkalo</i> would not grant permission if asked 6=Registration would upset family/neighbor relations 7=other (note)	

PART VI: MARKET EVOLUTION

Remind the respondent that these questions pertain to the designated plot.

1. Land use before acquired by respondent <i>(multiple responses permitted)</i>	1=residential 2=agricultural-orchard 3=agricultural-garden 4=agricultural-cropping 5=commercial	6=industrial 7=idle or waste ground 8=mixed resid./agricultural 9=other <i>(explain)</i> 10=unknown	
2. Land tenure status before acquired by respondent	0= unknown 1=retained possession	2=rented or borrowed out to someone 3=other <i>(note)</i>	
3. Primary reason for acquiring plot	1=for children or inheritance 2=for agricultural	5=investment 6=for use as collateral for loan	
4. Other reason for acquiring plot	3=for residence 4=savings	7=other <i>(explain)</i>	
5. Has the plot been pledged as collateral for a loan?	1=yes <i>(continue)</i>	2=no <i>(skip to 10)</i>	
6. Year of loan			
7. Duration of loan	1= seasonal 2= 1 year	3= 2-5 years 4= 5+ years	
8. Give purpose(s) of loan.	1=house construction or maintenance 2=business venture 3=establishment of farm/garden/orchard 4=labor hiring 5=purchase of agricultural inputs 6=purchase of agricultural equipment	7=purchase of consumer durable goods 8=educational expenses 9=social obligations (wedding, funeral, etc.) 10=other <i>(note)</i>	
9. Loan from whom?	1=bank 2=moneylender 3= <i>osusu</i> 4= <i>kafoo</i>	5=employer 6=family/relative 7=friend 8=other <i>(note)</i>	
10. Land use when plot was sold? <i>(multiple responses permitted)</i>	1=residential 2=agricultural-orchard 3=agricultural-garden 4=agricultural-cropping 5=commercial	6=industrial 7=idle or waste ground 8=mixed resid./agricultural 9=other <i>(explain)</i>	
11. Land tenure status when plot was sold	1=retained possession 2=rented or borrowed-out to someone	3=other <i>(note)</i>	
12. Was the plot or buildings on the plot rented-out in the year previous to the sale/disposition of the plot?	1=yes <i>(continue)</i>	2=no <i>(skip to VII)</i>	
13. Cash or in-kind rent received for plot			

PART VII: NATURE OF SELLER'S LAND TRANSACTION

Ask the respondent about their sale/disposition of the designated plot.

1. Who initiated the transaction?	1=acquirer (<i>skip to 4</i>)	2=seller (<i>continue</i>)	
2. Intensity of search for acquirer	1=no search 2=casual search	3=active search	
3. Who was contacted in finding an acquirer?	1= <i>alkalo</i> 2= <i>seyfou</i>	5=Area Council 6=District Commissioner	
4. Who was involved in negotiating the terms of sale or transfer? (<i>multiple responses permitted</i>)	3=friends/relatives 4=real estate agent	7=lawyer 8=other (<i>specify</i>)	
5. From whom did the respondent seek permission to sell the plot? (<i>multiple responses permitted</i>)	1=no one 2=compound head 3= <i>dabada</i> head 4=elder 5= <i>alkalo</i> 6= <i>seyfou</i>	7=relative 8=Area Council 9=District Commissioner 10=other villager 11=non-villager 12=other (<i>explain</i>)	
6. Interval between date of first contact with acquirer and the date of final negotiation of terms of sale	specify number of weeks or months		
7. Does the respondent feel that he/she received a fair price for the plot?	1=fair price 2=too much was paid	3=too little was paid	
8. Cash payment received			
9. Was there an in-kind receipt?	1=yes (<i>continue</i>)	2=no (<i>skip to 15</i>)	
10. List in-kind goods received for plot (quantities and estimated value):			
11. Approximately how much would it cost to acquire the plot today?			
12. Were any gifts, gratuities or fees paid to obtain permission to sell the plot?	1=yes (<i>continue</i>)	2=no (<i>skip to 14</i>)	
13. List amounts and position(s) of person(s) receiving the above payments?			
14. Describe terms of sale or payments not noted above:			

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PART VIII: REASONS FOR DISPOSITION

1. How did the respondent use the proceeds or what did the respondent buy with the proceeds from the sale of the plot? (If the answer is "1", continue. Otherwise, skip to 5)	1=another compound 2=consumer durable goods 3=education expenses 4=social obligation (wedding, naming ceremony)	5=medical needs 6=business venture 7=agricultural inputs or equipment 8=food for family 9=savings 10=other (explain)	
2. Is that compound in the same village?	1= yes (skip to 5)	2= no (continue)	
3. Name of the village			
4. Why did the respondent move to that village?	1=employment related 2=cheaper cost of housing 3=cheaper cost of living	4=occupy own house/compound 5=better access to schools or hospitals 6=other (note)	
5. Comments (Give details of any of the above responses):			

PART IX: LAND DISPUTES

1. Was there any dispute in the process of acquiring or selling the plot?	1=yes (continue)	2= no (skip to X)	
2. Describe nature of dispute.	1=boundary dispute 2=ownership dispute	3=other (explain)	
3. Dispute was with whom?	1=seller of plot 2=another buyer of plot	3=alkalo 4=other (note)	
4. How was the dispute resolved?	1=legal decision 2=financial settlement	3=alkalo's ruling 4=other (note)	
5. Persons involved in resolving the dispute?	1= alkalo 2= seyfou 3= law courts	3=village council 4=other (note)	
6. Comments (Give details of dispute(s) noted above):			

PART X: SUPPLEMENTARY EVOLUTION AND STRUCTURE QUESTIONS

Comprehensive Land Use History (all plots other than designated plot still held or ever held by respondent). List plots in sequence, e.g. #1, #2. If a partial plot was disposed, list the portion with the same number as the full plot, adding a letter, e.g. #2a. If there are more than four plots, continue on another survey form.

Does the acquirer hold or has the acquirer ever held plots other than the designated plot?

1 = yes (*continue*) 2 = no (*skip to Part XI*)

	PLOT NUMBER:				
1. Location of plot	(village, district)				
2. Area of plot	(m x m)				
3. Year acquired	19__				
4. Acquisition method	1 = inherited 2 = gift 3 = purchased	4 = borrowed, rented, sharecropped 5 = other (<i>specify</i>)			
5. Cash or in-kind payment					
6. Acquired from whom?	1 = hh member 2 = relative (<i>note</i>) 3 = <i>dabada</i> head 4 = <i>kabilo</i> head	5 = <i>alkalo</i> 6 = village founding family 7 = other villager 8 = non-villager 9 = other (<i>explain</i>)			
7. Primary reason for acquiring land	1 = for children or inheritance 2 = for agricultural production 3 = for residence 4 = savings	5 = investment 6 = for use as collateral 7 = compound for new wife 8 = other (<i>explain</i>)			
8. Use under previous holder immediately prior to transfer of land	1 = residential 2 = agricultural-orchard 3 = agricultural-garden	6 = industrial 7 = idle or waste ground 8 = mixed resid./agricultural			
9. Use of plot today	4 = agricultural-cropping 5 = commercial	9 = other (<i>explain</i>)			
10. Current land tenure status	1 = retained 2 = rented or borrowed-out to acquirer	3 = rented or borrowed out to someone other than acquirer 4 = other (<i>note</i>)			
11. Is plot registered as a leasehold?	1 = yes	2 = no			
12. Has the <i>alkalo</i> ever taken back a piece of the plot?	1 = yes	2 = no			
13. Plot disposed?	1 = yes (<i>continue</i>)	2 = no (<i>go back to 1</i>)			
14. Year disposed					
15. Disposal method	1 = sold 2 = given away 3 = taken back by <i>alkalo</i> 4 = exchanged	5 = taken back by previous owner 6 = bequeathed 7 = other (<i>explain</i>)			
16. Cash or in-kind receipt					

17. Disposed to whom?	1=hh member 2=relative (<i>note</i>) 3=alkalo	4=village founding family 5=other villager 6=non-villager 7=other (<i>explain</i>)				
18. Principle reason for disposition	1=changed residences 2=money for durable goods 3=money for education 4=money for funeral, wedding or other social obligation 5=money for medical needs	6=money for business venture 7=money for agricultural inputs or equipment 8=to sell while price was high 9=moved from area 10=other (<i>explain</i>)				

PART XI: EMPLOYMENT AND INCOME OF RESPONDENT

A. Does the respondent own any stores, shops or businesses?		1 = yes (<i>continue</i>) 2 = no (<i>skip to B</i>)			
Type of business	Number of shops/stores	Number of employees	Average monthly net income (dalasis)	Estimated value of mahinery/equipment	Estimated value of building(s)
B. Does the respondent own any rental properties other than the designated plot?		1 = yes (<i>continue</i>) 2 = no (<i>skip to C</i>)			
Number of residential rental units	Number of commercial rental units	Average monthly rental income (dalasis)	Estimated value of properties		
C. Is the respondent involved in any wage, salaried, or other income-generating activities?		1 = yes 2 = no (<i>skip to D</i>)			
Activity	How much earned per period? (<i>dalasis/period</i>)	How many periods per year in previous year?	Net Income (dalasis)		

PART XI: EMPLOYMENT AND INCOME OF RESPONDENT

D. Did the respondent have agricultural holding(s) in the previous year?		1 = yes (<i>continue</i>) 2 = no (<i>skip to E</i>)		
Income in previous year from cropping		Income in previous year from orchards/fruit trees		Income in previous year from vegetable gardening
Number of permanent employees		Number of temporary employees		Total wages paid during previous year
E. Did the respondent receive any material (cement, rice, etc.) or financial support > 500 dalasis in value in the previous year? (<i>Be sure to ask about both part-year residents and non-household members.</i>)		1 = yes (<i>continue</i>) 2 = no (<i>skip to XIV</i>)		
Occupation of sender	Household member? 1 = yes 2 = no	Current residence 1 = The Gambia 2 = Senegal 3 = Europe 4 = United States 5 = other (<i>specify country</i>)	Description of in-kind gift (e.g., "1 television set" or "5 bags of rice")	Total value (dalasis)

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PART XII: CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENT'S HOUSEHOLD

"Household" is defined as those who pool their resources in the process of production and share in the output. Household members are individuals who were resident in the household for more than six months in the previous year.

A. Household demographics

	Male	Female
Number of children < 16 years of age		
Number of household members between 16 and 55 years of age		
Number of household members 56+ years of age		

B. Economic producers of the household

For each economically active member in the household, complete the following:

Relationship to household head	Sex	Education	Employment
1			
2			
3			
4			
5			
6			

Sex 1 = male 2 = female	Relation to HH head 1 = head 2 = wife/husband 3 = father/mother 4 = son/daughter 5 = brother/sister 6 = cousin 7 = nephew/niece 8 = uncle/aunt 9 = in-law 10 = non-family	Education 1 = primary 2 = secondary 3 = technical 4 = university 5 = Koranic 6 = no formal	Employment 1 = farming 2 = teaching 3 = security guard 4 = civil servant 5 = trader or shopkeeper 6 = laborer or porter 7 = health worker	8 = electrician/plumber 9 = hotel/restaurant 10 = military/police 11 = construction 12 = mechanic/engineer 13 = metalworker/carpenter 14 = driver 15 = other (specify)
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PART XIII: ASSETS OF THE RESPONDENT'S HOUSEHOLD

A. How many of each of the following does the household have?	Number (0 = none)		Number (0 = none)
Refrigerator		Motorcycle	
Telephone		Car/truck	
Gas or electric stove		Television	
Bicycle		Generator	

B. How many animals does the respondent's household currently own?

	Number		Number of each		Number
Oxen/Cattle		Horses		Sheep	
Chickens		Donkeys		Goats	

PART XIV: ENUMERATOR'S ASSESSMENT

Did the respondent seem cooperative?	1 = very cooperative 2 = somewhat cooperative 3 = uncooperative	
How would you rate the quality of information in general given by the respondent?	1 = very reliable 2 = somewhat reliable 3 = unreliable	
Did the respondent express concerns about how this information would be used?	1 = yes 2 = no	

NOTES

