

**The Impact of Customary Landholding
on Emerging Land Markets in Enugu, Nigeria**

Dr. Cosmas Uchenna Ikejiofor

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Abstract

On account of its historical antecedents, the bulk of land for urban development in Enugu is held by indigenous landowning communities. Customary land tenure and management practices have persisted in these communities at the same time as a market in land has developed. This study attempts to refine concepts and understanding of the impact of dominant customary landholding on emerging land markets in Enugu by empirically investigating the characteristics of emerging land markets and the nature and dynamics of customary landholding in the Enugu context.

About the Author

Cosmas Uchenna Ikejiofor is Chief Architect at the Federal Ministry of Housing and Urban Development in Nigeria. He holds a Bachelor of Architecture (First Class Honors) degree from the University of Nigeria, Nsukka; a Master of Urban and Regional Planning from the University of Ibadan, Nigeria; and, a Ph.D from the University of Wales at Cardiff, U.K. He is a member of the Nigerian Institute of Architects and the Nigerian Institute of Town Planners.

Dr. Cosmas Uchenna Ikejiofor

Chief Architect

Federal Ministry of Housing and Urban Development

No. 19, Ezza Road

Abakaliki 480001

Ebonyi State

Nigeria

Telephone: 2348068503760

E-mail: ikejioforcu@yahoo.com

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The Impact Of Customary Landholding On Emerging Land Markets In Enugu, Nigeria

Introduction

The process of urbanization is one of the most important dimensions of economic, social and physical change in Africa. Approximately 25 percent of continental Africa's population lived in towns and cities in 1975 (UNCHS 1996, 4). In 2000, due to the combined effects of rural-urban migration and rapid rates of natural increase, 38 percent of the continent's population lived in urban areas and the proportion is expected to increase to 47 percent by 2015 (UNCHS 2001, 271). Buckley and Kalarickal (2005) project that half of the world's poor (a substantial proportion of who are in Africa) are expected to be living in cities by 2035. The World Bank (1996) had projected that Nigeria's urban population of about 40 million would double in 13 years if the then growth rate of 5.5 percent persisted. Rapid urbanization means increasing demand for urban land, particularly for housing, but also for various other urban uses. Ensuring that urban land markets are managed efficiently to serve the economic and social needs of urban inhabitants and enterprises has thus become one of the most pressing issues in cities throughout the third world (UNCHS 1996).

In many African cities, the land market today consists of a combination of three or more systems of land supply: indigenous tenure, illegal modes, capitalist markets, and bureaucratic allocation procedures. These overlap, vary in their characteristics and interactions, and produce confused, complex patterns of land supply (Simon 1992). However, there is a consensus in much of the literature that the indigenous communal land tenure system provides the bulk of land for urban development in many African cities (Acquaye and Asiamia 1986; Frishman 1988; van Westen 1990; Mabogunje 1992; Dale 1997). The impact of this dominant source of land supply on emerging land markets is thus the focus of the present research.

It is also recognized in the literature that actors in the informal (customary) sector have begun to develop practices that can overcome the problems of informal land supply. These include attempts by community leaders to foster orderly layouts, register land transfers, develop guarantees of tenure security, and service land. In addition, an intricate set of relationships between government structures, formal land institutions and indigenous landowning groups has evolved. The key theoretical significance of these developments is the challenge which they pose to the conventional conceptualization of urban land delivery systems in African cities in terms of two distinct categories: 'formal' and 'informal'. They also highlight the problems associated with the current practice of employing dichotomist terms (such as legal/illegal, formal/informal, regular/irregular, planned/unplanned, secure/insecure) in describing these systems. From their analysis of experience and evidence from South Africa, Cousins et al. (2005) conclude that the entire legal and social complex around which notions of "formal" and "informal" property are constituted needs to be interrogated more vigorously.

The African experience of rapid urbanization under conditions of widespread poverty is, in practice, based on a delicate amalgam of individual interests, social control by local communities, passive tolerance by the “absent” central state, and active tolerance or outright assistance by local government, the legal sector (e.g. courts of law), public and private utility companies, foreign donors and NGOs (Olima and Kreibich 2002, 4). Royston et al. (2005, 13), while calling for a review of tenure terminology and concepts, observe that dichotomy is problematic as it indicates false polarization, more appropriately represented as a continuum in which the situation is moving towards more informality or formality.

Views on how best to manage African land markets range from arguments in favor of maintaining communal tenure to arguments for its abolition and transition to individual titles. On the one hand, some of the literature argues that “informality” and illegality reduce the costs of land and housing for the urban poor. Others argue that as long as the poor are insecure as to the legal status of their homes (their major assets in life), they will never enjoy full access to the economic and political system (see, for instance, De Soto 2000).

Having described the research background and examined some underlying issues, the context is now set for a precise definition of the aim and objectives of the research as well as the methodologies for data collection and analysis.

Aim And Objectives Of The Research

The broad aim of the research is to refine concepts and understanding of the impact of dominant customary landholding on emerging land markets in Enugu. The study is intended to achieve three strategic objectives:

- (i) Identify the characteristics of emerging land markets in Enugu;
- (ii) Establish the nature and dynamics of customary land delivery systems in the Enugu context; and,
- (iii) Identify the impact of dominant customary landholding on land values.

Research Design And Methodologies

Sources of data

Evidence suggests that a combination of different research methods yield useful data sets that facilitate triangulation of data across methods (Matthew and Huberman 1994; Zetter and de Souza 2000; Laws et al. 2003). The research instruments employed for data collection in this study, therefore, include systematic secondary (documentary) data search from various sources, semi-structured questionnaire surveys, key informant interviews, and systematic observations.

Primary data came from semi-structured questionnaire surveys of customary landowners (in order to establish the nature and dynamics of customary landholding) and land purchasers (to identify other land market dynamics). The respondents in the survey of

customary landowners were the heads of the respective indigenous landowning families. This was because of the overwhelming evidence that family landownership is the dominant form of customary landholding in the Enugu context. The respondents in the survey of land purchasers were those who purchased land from the customary landowners between January and December 2005. **This was because of the need to restrict the survey to only those who had a recent experience of the processes involved in market transactions in customary land.** Five respondents from each of the surveys were further selected for in-depth follow-up interviews for more qualitative data. The respondents selected for follow-up interviews were those who showed outstanding knowledge of the issues at stake in their responses to the questionnaires.

Primary data also came from semi-structured key informant interviews of relevant government officials and land brokers. The government officials interviewed were the Permanent Secretary in the Enugu State Ministry of Lands, Survey and Town Planning, with her staff. This was because of the conviction that they were eminently qualified to provide answers to questions on government land policies and programs in Enugu. The principal partner of the largest formal estate agency firm in Enugu was chosen for key informant interview because of the firm's far-reaching networks in the city's land markets.

Sampling procedures for customary landowners and land purchasers

Rigorous sampling procedures were employed in the questionnaire surveys of customary landowners and land purchasers to ensure that, at every stage of the research process, the data being produced were as representative as possible of the population from which they have been drawn. The first step was the identification of settlements with large customary landholdings in Enugu from where samples were to be drawn. The relative sizes of such settlements made the application of cluster sampling technique inappropriate. Among such settlements, Emene (which is located at the north-eastern fringe of the city, see later section) is the largest. Although figures are not available, it probably provides as much as 60 percent of the land for conversion from rural to urban uses in the city at the moment due, largely, to favorable topographical factors. It was therefore felt that large samples drawn from this neighborhood would contain sufficient variations in the socio-economic characteristics of customary landowners and land purchasers to furnish the evidence required to answer the research questions. In other words, it was assumed that samples drawn from Emene could represent the sample of the whole population due to its relative size.

Sample size is determined by two factors: the resources available for the research and the degree of precision required. The first factor determines such issues as duration of the research and the number of people who can be interviewed. The latter is important because the larger the sample relative to the population, the closer the sample statistics to the population parameters (Reid 1987, 91). What sample size would be large enough and yet consistent with the limited resources available for the present research? It was decided that a sample size of 60 respondents for each of the two questionnaire surveys would be adequate.

Emene is made up of three communities: Amechi, Oguru, and Otuku, each with a community head. A list of all landowning families in each of these communities, obtained from the respective community heads, constituted the sampling frame for customary landowners from which a total of 60 families (20 from each community) were randomly selected for the questionnaire survey. Because the questionnaires were administered on respondents by the researcher himself, it was possible to achieve 100 percent response rate.

In the case of land purchasers as mentioned above, the sampling frame consisted of a list of all those who purchased land from landowning families in each of the three communities between January and December 2005. This list was drawn from the register of alienated communal land maintained by each of these communities. Again, a total of 60 land purchasers (20 from each community) were randomly selected for the questionnaire survey. Both questionnaires were pretested on five respondents each (who were not part of the survey sample) and modifications made to questions where necessary to improve uniform understanding of questions by respondents.

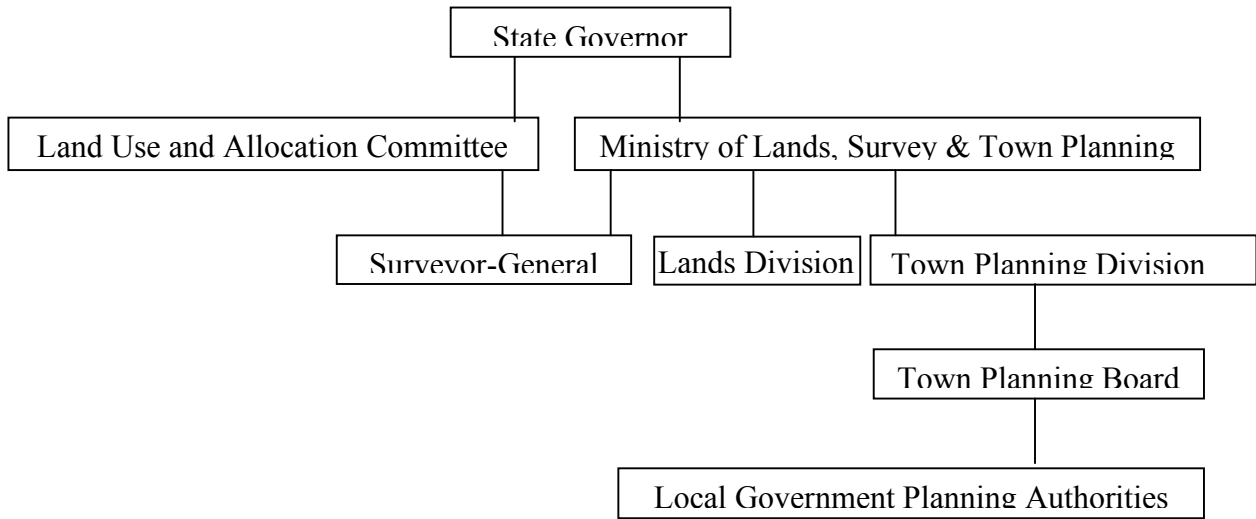
The Development Of Enugu

Enugu, which literally means hilltop, derives its name from its position among the Udi hills at an altitude of about 223 meters above mean sea level. It is located between latitudes 6° 27' N and 7° 28' N and longitude 7° 30' E and 8° 19' E (Government of Anambra State 1978, 41). Enugu covers an area of about 72.37 square kilometres at the foothills of the Udi escarpment, while the surrounding rural areas (now being transformed into settlement centers) cover an area of about 200 square kilometres (Ezeh 1998, 3; Government of Anambra State 1978, 39). The discovery of coal in the area in 1909 and the subsequent construction of railway played critical roles in the town's evolution. The capital of the defunct Eastern Region, Enugu has remained a very important administrative, industrial and commercial centre in the eastern parts of southern Nigeria but has continued to suffer territorial loss over the years as a result of creation of nine states (over time) out of the former Eastern Region (Figures 1 and 2). It is at present split into three local government councils: Enugu North, Enugu South, and Enugu East.

Urban population and growth trends

The national population census for 1991 (which, unfortunately, is still the most recent in Nigeria as the official results of the 2006 census is being awaited) showed that Enugu had a total population of 465,072 (233,818 males and 231,254 females) in 28 residential settlements. A review of documentary evidence of growth trends shows that the population of Enugu increased from 3,170 in 1926 to 13,600 (1931); 62,764 (1953); 138,457 (1963 census); 166,541 (1978); 342,786 (1986); and 465,072 (1991 census). These figures show that between 1986 and 1991 the population of Enugu grew at about 6 percent per annum.

Figure 3: Organogram of formal land administration in Enugu



Emene, the case study settlement

Emene is under the Enugu East local government council. This medium to high-density residential/industrial neighborhood was originally on the northeastern fringe of Enugu but is now regarded as part of Enugu metropolis owing to continuing urbanization and urban growth (Figures 4 and 5). Recent population estimates (based on projections from the 1991 census) show that Emene may have reached a population of 128,000 persons by 2005, at a growth rate of 4 percent per annum.

Emene has fairly level topography as it falls beyond the rugged terrain that typifies much of Enugu. This level setting favors the choice of this neighborhood as an ideal location for industries. The settlement is well linked by rail to other parts of Enugu and the city’s airport is also located there. The availability of air transport for light goods and manpower and rail transport for bulky goods have both facilitated the development of the Emene industrial layout. There are at present about 30 industries in this settlement, ranging from large conglomerates such as the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation Depot and the Anambra Motor Manufacturing Company, to privately-owned large and small limited liability firms. Emene is experiencing intense urbanization pressures and presents a good context for studying land delivery processes in Enugu. Parts of Emene are industrial layouts as mentioned above; parts are already mapped out as urban residential layouts; while large areas of land are still held under customary tenure. At least 60 percent of land in Emene is still under indigenous occupation.

Originally, Emene belonged to Nike aborigines who used it for agricultural activities. The name Nike is used to denote an extensive group of contiguous communities widespread in the three local government areas that make up Enugu metropolis. The traditional ruler of Nike was the custodian of land in Emene. As mentioned earlier, three communities of

Nike aborigines (Amechi, Oguru and Otuku) make up Emene, each with a community head. The traditional ruler of Nike originally allocated land in Emene to the three aboriginal communities on a freehold tenure basis. This was long before the founding of Enugu. Much of the original communal land has been ceded by these communities over time to their constituent families as customary freehold. It is these families that sell land to non-indigenes from their respective holdings, mostly as leaseholds.

Emerging Land Markets In Enugu: Actors And Motives

Categorizing emerging land markets in Enugu

Land markets in Enugu may be categorized in terms of the prevailing systems of supply. These different modes of supply originated at different stages in the development of the city. When approached from this perspective, three categories of suppliers of land for conversion from rural to urban uses can be identified. These are the traditional authority figures (clan heads, village heads, lineage heads, family heads, or their representatives); land subdividers (speculators); and, government and its agencies. The volume of supply from each category is directly related to the amount of land under its rule. Although figures are not available, but it is reasonable to assume that land in Enugu is held in the following proportions: customary land rights owners 80 percent, public sector 10 percent, and private individuals 10 percent. I shall briefly explain the assumptions upon which this conjecture is based. As earlier mentioned, the original urban boundary of Enugu covered an area of about 72 square kilometers while the surrounding villages (which are rapidly being incorporated into the urban boundary) provide an additional 200 square kilometers. Most of the land in the surrounding villages is under indigenous occupation while at least one third of the land (including vast areas in Ogui Nike and Awkunanaw) within the original urban boundary is still under customary ownership.

Consequently, the first and the most important of the land market categories (in terms of the number of plots supplied) are the indigenous communities and landowning families acting through their representatives. By way of comparison, while there was no government land delivery program in Enugu in the whole of 2005, figures gleaned from the register of alienated communal land kept by each of the three communities that make up Emene show that in 2005 alone, over 700 plots were sold by the various landowning families in these communities. Past studies (Okolocha 1993; Ikejiofor 1997, for instance) show that this source of supply accounts for most of the land that is made available for urban development in other Nigerian cities. But because transactions in this segment of the market are not officially recognized, it yields little or no revenue to government. A detailed discussion of the nature and dynamics of this dominant mode of land supply in the Enugu context comes up subsequently.

The second category of land markets in Enugu involves the mostly non-indigenous land subdividers or speculators. This segment of the private land delivery system refers to the activities of private land subdividers who obtain land mostly from customary sources, get such land subdivided, develop some plots, and re-sell the remainder to the public. Because this group of suppliers is mostly speculators, they often acquire cheap peripheral

land, and then wait until urban expansion reaches those areas before selling. Hence, land from this source is often not appropriately located. The limited number of such actors in operation also restricts the volume of supply relative to demand. Depending on the degree of legality of the subdivider, tenure security here may be better guaranteed than in the informal (indigenous supply) system, because the terms of a particular land transfer are clear, unambiguous and often properly documented. Such documentary evidence (where it exists) is usually enforceable in the law courts.

The third category of land markets in Enugu involves public sector supply. Government and its agencies have continued to play a significant role in both the supply and demand sides of the land market since the colonial times. All three tiers of government (Federal, state and local) are involved. In Enugu, government continues to acquire land from customary and private sources for public use; supplies land to private individuals and groups from its pool; establishes rules regarding land use planning for economic development; provides infrastructure and services to land; enforces development control laws; etc. The Lands Division of the Ministry of Lands, Survey and Town planning carries out land acquisitions on behalf of government.

There is no doubt that tenure security is guaranteed in the public land delivery system. The Land Use Decree of 1978 stipulated a leasehold tenure of 99 years. It is this issue of tenure security that is perhaps the greatest attraction of the public land supply system. Any one who is able to cross the allocation hurdle and pay the necessary fees is almost always assured of both *de facto* and *de jure* security in public residential layouts. Title document and certificate of occupancy are issued to such a person. Because the terms of the lease are clearly spelt out and not subject to sudden changes, no allottee considers his ownership/control of the allotted land at risk, as long as he does not default in paying the stipulated fees. There is a dearth of reliable data on how well plots in public residential layouts in Enugu do in providing a flow of revenue to the local governments for service provision through property tax and user charges. Past studies show, however, that the default rate in public land and housing supply programs is quite high (Agbola, 1990).

It is important to note that the complexity reported by some analysts to dominate urban land tenure issues in the urban areas of most developing countries is largely absent in Enugu. This is because land invasion/squatting as a source of land supply for low-income groups hardly occurred in the past and certainly does not occur at present. None of the respondents in the semi-structured questionnaire survey of land purchasers in the present study had obtained land through illegal occupation. The absence of squatting means that the usually complex varieties of non-formal tenure systems associated with it are largely absent in Enugu, whether on communal, private or government-owned land. Hence, such informal tenure systems reported by Payne (1997, 8) to be the most common in developing countries, particularly in terms of providing land for low-income settlements, hardly exist in Enugu. This has adverse implications for market access, price trends and affordability, particularly for those at the lower income brackets.

Formal land supply prices and their impact on land values in Enugu

The inability or unwillingness of the public land supply system to meet demand was confirmed in a key informant interview of officials of the Ministry of Lands, Survey and

Town Planning Enugu. The officials point to lack of funds to embark on acquisition, subdivision, servicing and allocation of plots on a scale that would match the volume of demand. It came out clearly that targeting low-income earners in land allocation is not a priority concern for the ministry. The land delivery programs of the ministry are strictly on a cash and carry basis, as only those who can pay the price are entertained.

Allotees of plots in government layouts in Enugu are required to pay 15 different categories of fees. As at December 2005, these included a non-refundable application fee of N1000, approval fee of N5000, deed registration fee of N4000, consent fee of N5000 (minimum) for preparation of certificate of occupancy, survey fee of N25000, and development premium (meant to enable the government provide infrastructure in the layouts) calculated at a rate of N175 per square meter. There is also the property rate (which is calculated on the basis of status of layout and type of development) paid annually to the local government and the ground rent of N7500 per hectare paid annually to the state government in acknowledgement of the leasehold tenure. This rent is usually reviewed upwards periodically. The sites and services principle underlies most of the ministry's land delivery programs, but none had specifically targeted low-income people. The shortage of funds has meant that emphasis has always been on cost recovery, which puts low income people at a disadvantage.

Because of the high cost of plots in government land subdivision programs in Enugu, the type of active submarkets that usually develop around government land allocation system (Durand-Lasserve 1994, 67) by reselling of plots is largely absent. Also, the high cost of plots in the formal submarket directly affects the cost of plots in the informal (customary) submarket as will be argued shortly.

The Nature And Dynamics Of Customary Landholding In Enugu

Customary landholding in Enugu: Concepts, actors and roles

In Enugu, three systems of customary landownership are evident. These are communal, family, and individual systems of land ownership. In former times, the greatest area of land was held by the community as communal land. But with increasing population and allotment of communal land to families, there has taken place a gradual transformation of land from communal into family landholding. Communal landholding in the study area still exists in such places as farmlands, community squares/playgrounds, markets and burial grounds and accounts for about 20 percent of all customary land in Emene. Family landholding accounts for almost the remaining 80 percent. This is because the extent of individual ownership of customary land is almost negligible. Such system of ownership, in practice, only occurs temporarily as a transitory phase to formal registration of such land. McAuslan (1998, 543) notes that the creation of an individual right of occupancy and its allocation to an individual or group through a statutory process *ipso facto* breaks the link between the land and customary tenure, even if the same people occupy the land. Cousins et al. (2005, 3) corroborate this view by observing that there is often a fundamental incompatibility between property rights in community-based systems and the requirements of formal property. Formalization (individualization) of communal property rights, they note, will transform and alter both the nature of the rights and the

social relations and identities that underlie them. This, according to McAuslan (1998, 543), poses the greatest challenge to the evolution of customary tenure.

Family landholding implies that “title” to land is vested in the family. As mentioned previously, this represents the dominant form of customary landholding, particularly in the rural areas of Nigeria today. It is for this reason that this study employed a questionnaire survey to investigate the details of this system of ownership. “Title”, in this context, does not necessarily need to be supported with documentary evidence. All that is required for such “title” to exist is the verbal consent of the recognized community leader (or council of elders) to the effect that a particular piece of communal land has been allocated to a particular family in the community in perpetuity. It is only a family wishing to formalize such “title” that needs to obtain this consent in a written form. This written consent, together with a map of the plot prepared by licensed surveyor, constitutes “proof” of rights to the land. This “proof” is what is presented to the relevant government agency for the issuance of a statutory lease (or certificate of occupancy) under the 1978 Land Use Decree. A certificate of occupancy issued in such circumstances can be inherited or transferred to a person outside the family/community for cash.

Family, strictly speaking, goes beyond the narrow English conception of a family comprising just father, mother and their children (nuclear family). In a purely Nigerian context, the family is the father, mother and their children, but will also include uncles, aunts, brothers, sisters, nieces, nephews, grand parents and grand children. 90 percent of respondents in the questionnaire survey of heads of customary landowning families in the present study indicated same grandfather as the biological connection among members of their family (table 1). All the respondents in the study identify inheritance as the means through which family land owned in common is passed down from the progenitor to the present generation of family members.

Table 1: Biological connection among indigenous family members in Emene

Relationship	No. in Sample	Percentage
Same father	1	2
Same grandfather	54	90
Same great grandfather	5	8
Other	Nil	0
Total	60	100

Source: Field survey by author (2006).

Land belonging to a family is normally held in trust for the members by the family head, who must be the eldest male member of that family. Landownership here is seen as part of the “*Nkolo*” (symbol of family unity), with the eldest male member who is also in charge of the “*Ofo*” (symbol of authority) exercising control. The title to family land visits in the male members of the family as a corporate group; it is joint and indivisible, no part capable of being alienated absolutely by an individual male member without the consent of the other male members of the family (usually the principal members). It thus shares some similarities with joint tenancy of the English law. However, no male member can claim any portion of the family land as his own and each member is as much entitled to possession of any part of the land as the others. There is also a distinction between family land and tenancy-in-common. A tenant-in-common, under English law, has a definite share, though undivided, which he can alienate or otherwise deal with *inter vivos* or on death. A cause of action is vested in him in his own right where there is an interference with the said land, for that amounts to an interference with his interest and an infringement of his rights. A family member, on the other hand, has no alienable share in family property.

Classification of customary landholders in Enugu

Two broad categories of customary landholders can be identified in Enugu: indigenous and non-indigenous customary landholders. The indigenous customary landholders can further be broken down into two groups (table 2):

- (i) Those that own only customary land that have been inherited from forebears; and,
- (ii) Those that, in addition to owning customary land that have been acquired through inheritance from forebears have also acquired additional customary land from other customary holders by way of purchase or pledge. This category includes indigenous entrepreneurs (individuals or families) who demand land in exchange for financial or other forms of assistance they render to their fellow kinsmen in need.

Table 2: Classification of indigenous customary landholders in Emene

Landholding Family	No. in Sample	Percentage	No. of Plots Held	Average No. of Plots per Family
Inheritor-only	52	87	592	11.4
Inheritor-purchasers	8	13	107	13.4
Total	60	100	686	

Source: Field survey by author (2006)

From table 2, it is clear that the overwhelming majority of indigenous customary landholders in our survey sample (87 percent) are families who own only customary land that have been inherited from forebears. Another significant inference one can draw from the table is that the ownership structure of customary land in Enugu is broad based. The average number of plots per inheritor-only family does not differ significantly from that for inheritor-purchaser family. This may be due to the small number of land transfers due to pledges or purchases that occur among members of the indigenous society. Indigenous landowning families or individuals who want to sell land would prefer to sell to non-indigenes because of the likelihood of making more money from such transaction. This is because market forces, rather than social considerations, usually determine the selling price in the transaction with non-indigenes. The absence of a small number of dominant customary landholders means that the monopolistic tendencies and price volatility such an occurrence would have heralded are largely absent in the emerging markets.

Non-indigenous customary landholders refer to non-members of the indigenous society who own customary land that have been acquired mostly through purchase from customary holders but who have not obtained formal titles for such land. This category includes mainly the non-indigenous entrepreneurs who are either private developers or speculators, or both. Because of the precariousness of market transactions in customary land, the prevalent practice is for non-indigenes who acquire customary land to quickly obtain formal titles for such land as this is believed to guarantee tenure security. The impact of this is that customary landholding by non-indigenes, just like customary landholding by individual members of the indigenous community described earlier, is usually a transitory phase and, as a result, landholders in this category are few at any point in time. Further explanation of this phenomenon will be made subsequently.

Bringing customary land into the market: Underlying dynamics and motives

The emergence of a market in land (which is a more recent development) provides the channel through which “strangers” get land in Enugu. Analysis of the findings from the semi-structured questionnaire survey of heads of indigenous landowning families in Emene showed that 70 percent of respondents have sold part(s) of their family land in the past. The survey also aimed to find out what factors prompted the decision to sell at each point in time, the uses to which family members usually put proceeds from alienated communal land, and also the impact of changing urban boundaries on processes of land delivery and development, i.e., what relationships exist between buyers and sellers of land on the one hand, and formal administrative powers (e.g., state and local government authorities) on the other.

90 percent of the sales were distress sales and two main uses to which proceeds from sales were put were identified: urgent need to raise money for children’s education and extension/maintenance of existing family house (table 3). All the respondents indicated that only adult male members of the family took part in making the decision to sell. None of the respondents had problem reaching agreement to sell with other family members probably because the children that needed money for education were not just those of the head. The family houses that needed extension/maintenance provided free accommodation for an increasing population of family members, particularly those with little or no income and who could not, as a result, build houses of their own. It is

instructive that the decision to sell is made mostly because of the need to deploy family wealth (land) into new areas of investment. All the respondents believed it was the right decision. If their children acquired good education, they could get good jobs and that would more than compensate for the alienated land.

Table 3: Utilization of proceeds from sale of family land in Emene

Mode of Utilization	No. in Sample	Percentage
Investment in children's education	24	40
To capitalize micro-enterprises	12	20
Extension/maintenance of existing family house	18	30
To fulfill one-time social obligation (e.g. marriage, title-taking, etc.)	6	10
Total	60	100

Source: Field survey by author (2006)

None of the respondents in the questionnaire survey of customary landowners provided any form of infrastructure or services to land before sale. Such lands were usually surveyed subsequently by licensed surveyors at the instance of the land purchasers. Because of the small size of plots landowners were usually willing to sell at any one time, subdivision of plots by land buyers after purchase for resell hardly occurred. It is also because, apart from a few speculators, most of those who buy land do so with a view to develop such land as investment during their lifetime, and to bequeath same to offspring as inheritance thereafter. The size of a "standard" plot offered for sale is usually about 20 x 30 square meters. Only five percent of respondents in the questionnaire survey of land purchasers in the present study had subdivided their plots since purchase (table 4). Enquiries into whether the near-absence of a second-hand land market in Enugu constrains an efficient urban property market in general fall beyond the scope of the present study.

Table 4: Subdivision of plots after purchase in Emene

Response	No. in Sample	Percentage
Yes	3	5
No	50	83
No response	7	12
Total	60	100

Source: Field survey by author (2006)

It became clear from the data from the present study that proceeds from land sales are not taxed either by the state or the local government, since these formal administrative bodies do not usually get involved in private land transactions. This stems from the lack of recognition of such transactions by government and differs remarkably from what obtains in Ghana where the traditional system is formally recognized and incorporated into the formal system and a formula laid down for sharing revenue from “stool” land among the relevant “stool” and different layers of formal government (Gough and Yankson 2000, 2489). None of the customary landowner respondents in the present study had paid any form of tax on proceeds from land sales. 70 percent of the respondents argued that proceeds from land sales are not taxable while 20 percent said they were not aware of the requirement to pay tax (table 5). It is also because state and local government agencies are almost always not aware of such transactions. None of the customary landowner respondents sought any form of permission from government before embarking on the sale of land because of the belief that it was not the business of government what they did with their land.

Table 5: Reasons for non-payment of tax on land sales proceeds in Emene

Response	No. in Sample	Percentage
Tax not required	42	70
Proceeds insufficient to pay tax	3	5
Unaware of the requirement to pay tax	12	20
No response	3	5
Total	60	100

Source: Field survey by author (2006)

However, those who buy land pay development levy/property tax and are required to obtain building permit from the local planning authority for their building projects. Development levy is the fee charged by the local government through its planning authority for all new developments in its area of jurisdiction. It is often required that this levy be paid before a building permit is issued. Property tax, on the other hand, is the annual payment all owners of developed property pay to the local government in which such property is located. Both payments are made by all those who buy land, whether from state, customary or other private sources. These levies are fixed by the local governments.

What happens in most cases is that as soon as a land purchase is made and the buyer begins to develop the land, officials of the local planning authority (in whose jurisdiction the development is occurring) visit the site with an order to stop work. Thereafter the developer visits the local planning authority and pays the required levies before coming back to resume work. This has been the case even before 1991 when Enugu metropolis was still a single local government area.

Customary Landholding And Land Values In Enugu

Existing pattern of land values in Enugu

In a key informant interview with Mr. A.A. Chukwuma (principal partner in the estate agency firm of Ado Chukwuma and Associates at No. 4 Chime Avenue, New Haven, Enugu), he gave a rough estimate of the cost of a standard plot (20x30 square meters) from private supply channels in some residential neighborhoods in Enugu as at December 2005 as follows:

Table 6: Cost of standard plot in Enugu, 2005

Neighbourhood	Range of cost of standard plot (₦)	Range of cost of standard plot adjusted for currency devaluation since 1989 (₦) (Adjustment factor = 0.4)
GRA and Independence layout	5 –6 million	2 – 2.4 million
Trans-Ekulu	1.5 – 1.8 million	600,000 – 720,000
Achara	1.0 - 1.4 million	400,000 – 560,000
Abakpa Nike	0.8 – 1.0 million	320,000 – 400,000
Ogui Nike	0.8 - 1.0 million	320,000 – 400,000
Emene	0.7 – 1.0 million	280,000 – 400,000

Source: Field survey by author (2006)

Note: US\$1 = N130 (December, 2005) and ₦5 (December, 1989)

Data from the questionnaire survey of land purchasers in Emene conducted in June 2006 confirm the price range given in the above table for Emene, the main determinant of plot price being its location, as most plots offered for sale by customary owners in Emene do not have any infrastructure/services. To get an indication of trend in land prices over the years, it is necessary to compare the figures given above (adjusted for currency devaluation) with the findings of a study on pattern of land values in Enugu conducted in 1989 (Aremu 1989, 62-97). The table below summarizes the findings.

Table 7: Pattern of land values in Enugu, 1989

Neighborhood	Range of land values per m ² (₦)	Average Cost of standard plot (₦)	Cost per m ² of standard plot (₦)
CBD	111.11 -166.67	77,200	128.67
GRA	66.67 -111.11	49,330	82.22
Independence Layout	55.56 – 111.11	46,264	71.11
Abakpa Nike	14.44 –33.33	13,100	21.83
Emene	16.67-66.67	22,853	38.10
New Haven	55.56 -111.11	46,264	77.11
Trans- Ekulu	33.33 – 55.56	24,526	40.88
Ogui Nike	27.78 –55.56	22,853	38.10
Achara	38.89 –55.56	25,920	43.20

Source: Computed from Aremu (1989, 94-95)

There has been a general upward trend in land values which can be explained by economic factors of scarcity, demand and supply. The steep rise in prices between 1989 and 2005, as the above figures show, is partly the result of rising demand and inflation, but also due to massive devaluation of the local currency in the intervening years. There is evidence that the purchasing power of the local currency has fallen many times faster than average income has risen since 1989. Inflation and the massive decline in real incomes have made land less accessible due to rising poverty. The continuing increase in land prices indicate that the continuing diminution of Enugu's area of political influence (by the creation of more states out of its territory over time) has not had a negative impact on land values in the city, probably because most indigenes of the defunct Eastern Region (particularly the Igbo) still see Enugu as their city, regardless of their new states of origin.

Why do plots sold by customary rights owners in Enugu often come in standard (formal) sizes? This can be traced to the precariousness of market transactions in customary land (resulting mostly from lack of trust between parties) which creates a strong desire in most purchasers to also seek to obtain formal titles to such land from appropriate government

agencies. It is such a title that can afford its holder the protection of the formal courts of law in the event of a dispute. Hence, most purchasers of customary land often insist that the plots they buy meet the minimum size required for formal registration/titling. It would seem, therefore, that the cost barriers to land acquisition are a product of the cost of the land itself as well as bureaucratic obstacles (Ikejiofor, 2006). This tendency of land purchasers has conditioned the behavior of customary land owners who, from long practice, are now quite astute in estimating the size of their landholding as multiples of the standard formal plot.

Customary landholding and land values in Enugu

It has been established that the dominant suppliers of land in Enugu are the customary land rights owners. Both public and private developers all have to acquire land from this source as required for particular purposes. Thus, there is no stock of undeveloped publicly or privately (individually) owned land either for rapid public sector land delivery or for invasion/squatting. What specific impact does the dominance of the land market by the customary supply channel have on the pattern of land values in Enugu?

It is difficult to compare prices of land supplied through the different channels because of the plethora of influences on price. Because government usually provides subsidized services in its land delivery programs, land from the public sector is usually considered the cheapest but the most difficult to access because of the volume of demand compared to supply. Respondents in the questionnaire survey of land purchasers tend to believe that land from private individual owners are easier to access, probably because it is faster to conclude transactions with one individual than with representatives of an indigenous community or family. Also, sometimes plots provided by private individuals may be partly serviced. There is the feeling, however, that, since this group of vendors also sources their stock from the customary land rights owners, their selling price must be higher than the purchase price since they must add something for profit. This implies that the price of land from private subdividers may be higher than that from the customary rights owners, if all other factors are held constant. Some of the factors which influence land prices from customary sources and private subdividers include location, whether or not a middleman is involved, security of the rights being transferred (which is related to risk of them being challenged), length of lease, level of services provided, etc.

90 percent of respondents in the land purchasers' questionnaire survey gave availability of plots for sale as the main reason for choosing to buy land in Emene (table 8). This confirms the commonly held view that urban peripheral settlements are zones of active conversion of land from rural to urban uses. In the Enugu context, it has also been established that the bulk of land in such peripheral settlements is effectively in the hands of indigenous landowning communities and families. All the customary landowners who have sold part(s) of their family land to non-members of their respective families indicate that prices at which plots were sold were totally determined by market forces.

Table 8: Main reasons for buying land in Emene

Reason	No. in Sample	Percentage
Nearness to workplace	2	3.3
Nearness to friends/family	0	0
Absence of land disputes	1	1.7
Availability of plots for sale	54	90
Low price of plots	1	1.7
Suitability of land for agriculture or other intended use	2	3.3
Total	60	100

Source: Field survey by author (2006)

Data from the present research further show that peripheral land, obtained at a market-driven price from customary owners, is usually registered by the purchaser with public sector agencies with a view to obtaining a formal title to the land, which enhances tenure security. Additional costs are usually incurred in the process of affecting such registration, thus further driving up the total cost of the land to the purchaser. Such additional costs include official taxes, levies and administrative costs (such as deed fee, approval fee, survey check fee, inspection fee, stamp duty fee, and publication fee). There are also the illicit payments and bribes demanded by government officials which, in some cases, may be higher than taxes legally levied by the state. Hence, the total cost of land to the purchaser has two components: the price paid to the customary land rights owner plus the costs (both official and illicit) incurred in registering the land.

The key issue here seems to be the low level of tenure security which land purchasers associate with customary land rights, demonstrated by the unwillingness of such purchasers to hold land for any length of time with the customary rights which are transferred to them when they buy land from indigenous owners. This is because such customary rights are usually not clearly defined, overlapping rights exist and contracts are often unenforceable. As a result, transaction costs are high, and the residual risk of other claims coming to light following a sale decreases the value of the land and deters investment. All these, plus the fact that customary tenure rights cannot be used as collateral for obtaining loan from formal financial institutions, have resulted in the inferior status which land purchasers accord to a customary right of occupancy vis-à-vis a statutory one. The failure of customary land rights owners in Enugu to develop acceptable guarantees of tenure security thus becomes an inhibiting factor which works to hold down the value of customary land.

The difference between the total cost of a plot to a purchaser and the price of the same plot in the customary market is represented by the additional costs incurred in registering the plot. The purchaser of a plot who decides not to register his land can keep most of this for himself if he is lucky or if he has the right contacts. He may, on the other hand, have to pay more than the total cost for his plot, especially if there is any dispute in law over

the ownership of the plot. The costs of registering land, which most purchasers are usually willing and eager to incur, take care of this risk factor.

What factors determine the price at which customary rights owners are usually willing to sell land in Enugu? It has already been mentioned that the broad based nature of customary landholding in Enugu eliminates monopolistic tendencies and price volatility in the emerging land markets. Thus, while demand pressures are important explanatory factors, the selling price of plots in government layouts also plays a significant part as indicated previously. It is this price that usually gives a customary rights owner an indication of the figure of price from where to commence the bargaining process with a potential buyer.

Smolka (2003, 5) identified this interdependency of formal and informal urban land markets as a factor contributing to high land prices. Specifically, according to Smolka, the high prices of serviced land in the formal market seem to affect the relatively high prices of unserviced land in the informal market, and vice versa. According to Durand-Lasserve (1994, 61), the price of urban land is always established in relation to a so-called reference price. This is the ceiling to which all urban agents refer, and it represents the price used in the very narrow market for the resale of registered and legally occupied plots. Durand-Lasserve observed in the case of Conakry Guinea that the reference price of a plot compared with the prices charged in the customary market differs by about 20 to 30 percent, when facilities and location are held constant. This rate varies, it would seem, according to the degree of risk attached to the irregularity and the amount of trust placed in the customary owners. The price difference would widen if, for instance, the authorities had a repressive land development policy.

In the Enugu context, the lack of faith in customary land rights by land purchasers can result in a price difference of up to 30 to 40 percent between the reference price and the price in the customary market. However, the fact that most land purchasers do not resell plots after purchase means that the submarket for sale of fully titled private land is indeed very narrow. Even among the relatively few professional subdividers (speculators), evidence from the present study indicates that it is only in very few cases that land is fully registered before resale. The passive tolerance of transactions in customary land and, to some extent, informal land development by government and its agencies also has a moderating influence on the reference price.

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Appendix I

Questionnaire Survey of Heads of Indigenous Landowning Families in Emene, Enugu

Greeting

I am carrying out an academic research on behalf of a US-based institution – The Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, Cambridge, Massachusetts – which is investigating the impact of large landowners on land values in different parts of the world. This questionnaire survey is aimed at clarifying three things:

- (i) The way family land is collectively owned by family members in Emene;
- (ii) The way family land is allocated to family members for use; and,
- (iii) The way family land is sold to non-members of the family for cash when the need arises.

To achieve these, we shall be asking questions about the history of your family and its landholding, details of the processes involved in the issues listed above, and constraints or problems (if any) which you encounter in the day to day administration of your family land.

Be assured that the purpose of the survey is purely academic and that every information you supply will be treated in strictest confidence. Your cooperation will be highly appreciated.

Thank you.

Date of interview:.....

Name/address of respondent:.....

1. Family History and Particulars of Family Landholding

1.1 What is the biological connection among members of this family?

- (i) Same father
- (ii) Same grand-father
- (iii) Same great grand-father
- (iv) Other (explain).....

1.2 Please complete the following table concerning all adult male members of this family (Aged 18years and above).

Name or Initials	Age	Occupation*	Nature of ** Employment	Marital Status ***	Town of Residence

*E.g. Typist, Carpenter, Mason, Engineer, etc.

** Use Permanent, Casual, Seasonal (explain), Apprentice
 *** Use Married, Divorced, Widowed, Single (never married)

1.3 Does the family have any land which is owned in common by all family members?

- Yes
- No → Go to Q 3.1

1.4 Is such land all in one location?

- Yes
- No → Go to Q 1.6

1.5 In which neighborhood is the land located?

1.6 If the land is in different locations, please complete the following table about the size and location of each parcel of your commonly-owned family land.

Location (neighborhood)	Size (Hectares)

1.7 Who was the original owner of the largest parcel of family land that is owned in common?

- (i) Father
- (ii) Grand-father
- (iii) Great grand-father
- (iv) Other (explain).....

1.8 How did this original owner come to possess the land?

- (i) Inheritance
- (ii) Purchase
- (iii) Gift
- (iv) Pledge
- (v) Other (explain).....

1.9 How was this land passed down to the present generation of family members?

- (i) Inheritance
- (ii) Purchase
- (iii) Gift
- (iv) Pledge
- (v) Other (explain).....

1.10 How has the size of this common land changed since the time of the original owner?

Please check only one

- No change, the same size → Go to Q 1.13
- Size increased → How much in hectares.....ha

Size decreased → How much in hectares.....ha

1.11 If the land increased or decreased in size from the time of the original owner to the present, please tell us the reasons for this change in size.

1.12 What is the size of the land now?..... ha

1.13 Are the boundaries of this common land properly defined?

Yes

No → Go to Q 2.1

1.14 How are the boundaries of the common land defined?

(i) Survey beacons

(ii) Natural features (such as trees, streams, rock outcrops, etc);

(iii) Fence/barbed wire

(iv) Agreement between neighbors

(v) Other (Explain)

1.15 Have you had any part of this common family land surveyed?

Yes → On how many occasions?.....

No → Go to Q 2.1

1.16 When was the last time you had any part of this common family land surveyed? (Give year).

1.17 Who required the survey and why?

2. Devolution of Land Rights among Family Members

2.1 What factors do you consider in deciding which family members are entitled to be given plots from family land owned in common?

	Yes	No
Gender (male or female)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Age of family member	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Socio-economic status	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Marital status	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

2.2 Are any other factors taken into consideration?

Yes → Please explain.....

No

2.3 Can female family members be given plots from family land owned in common?

Yes → Please explain.....

No → Please explain.....

2.4 Under what conditions would a family member qualify for land allocation from commonly-owned family land?

2.5 Who takes the decision as to whether or not a family member qualifies for land allocation?

	Yes	No
All adult family members (male and female)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
All adult male family members	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Socio-economically well-to-do family members	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Married male family members	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

2.6 Does any other group of family members participate in this decision-making?

Yes -> Please explain.....

No

2.7 How is consensus reached? How are divergent views reconciled?

2.8 Are there any obligations which a family member to be allocated land have to fulfill?

Yes -> Please explain.....

No

2.9 Does the amount of land allocated to a family member adjudged to be qualified for land allocation vary according to the intended use?

Yes -> Please explain.....

No

2.10 Does the amount of land allocated to a family member adjudged to be qualified for land allocation vary according to the socio-economic status of the family member?

Yes -> Please explain.....

No -> Please explain.....

2.11 What type of rights can a family member enjoy on land allocated to him/her in this situation?

(i) Use rights for life

(ii) Use rights for a limited period

(ii) Rights to bequeath land to offspring as inheritance

(iii) Rights to lease the land

(iv) Rights to sell the land

2.12 Are there any other rights enjoyed by an allottee of common family land?

Yes -> Please explain.....

No

2.13 To what major uses do family members usually put family land allocated to them?

	Yes	No
(i) House building	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(ii) Farming	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(iii) Base for other economic activities	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

(iv) Leasing

2.14 Do family members put family land allocated to them to any other uses?

Yes -> Please explain.....

No

2.15 Are there situations under which an allocation of land made to a family member can be revoked? Yes/ No.

2.16 If yes, what are these situations?

2.17 Is land allocated to a family member heritable? Yes/ No.

2.18 If yes, are there conditions to be fulfilled by the inheritors? Yes/ No.

2.19 If yes, what are these conditions?

2.20 Can land allocated to a family member be leased or sold to a non-member of the family by such a member? Yes/ No.

2.21 If yes, are there conditions attached to such a transaction? Yes/ No.

2.22 If yes, what are these conditions?

2.23 Have the processes of allocation of family land to family members changed in any way in the recent past? Yes/ No.

2.24 If yes, in what ways? Why?

2.25 Are there major constraints/problems you encounter in the day-to-day administration of your family land? Yes/ No.

2.26 If yes, please complete the following table concerning each problem/constraint and its solution.

Problem/constraint	Recommended solution

3. Alienation of Family Land to Non-members of the Family

3.1 Have you ever given out or sold any part of your commonly owned family land to a non-member of the family?

Yes

No -> Go to Q3.28

3.2 On how many different occasions has this occurred?

3.3 Please complete the following table for each time you have given out or sold part of your family land to a non-member of the family.

Location of Land (Neighborhood)	Size of Land (in Hectares)	Form of* Alienation	Tenure**	Price paid (for Sales)	Date of Alienation	Reason for Alienation	How price was fixed	How proceed was shared among family members

*Use Gift, Pledge, Sale, Other (Specify)

**Use Freehold, Leasehold, Other (Specify)

3.4 Which family members were involved in each decision to give out or sale family land?

	Yes	No
All adult family members (male and female)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
All adult male family members	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Socio-economically well-to-do family members	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Married male family members	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

3.5 Did any other group of family members participate in this decision-making?

Yes -> Please explain.....

No

3.6 How was consensus reached? How were divergent views reconciled?

3.7 Have you ever sold any part of your commonly owned family land to a non-member of the family?

Yes

No -> Go to Q3.28

3.8 On how many different occasions has this occurred?

3.9 Were there social considerations in any of the sales or was the selling price always a product of demand and supply?

3.10 How did family members utilize their share of the proceeds from sale of family land?

	Yes	No
Investment in children's education	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
To capitalize micro-enterprises	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Expansion/maintenance of existing family house [] []
To fulfill one-time social obligation (e.g. marriage, traditional title-taking, funeral, etc); [] []

3.11 Were there other ways family members utilized their share of proceeds from sale of family land?

[] Yes -> Please explain.....
[] No

3.12 Was any form of tax paid to government from the proceeds of any of the land sales? Yes/ No.

3.13 If yes, what percentage of each selling price was this tax?

3.14 If no, why was tax not paid?

- (i) Tax not required
- (ii) Proceeds insufficient to pay taxes
- (iii) Unaware of the requirement to pay tax on proceeds
- (iv) Other (Explain).....

3.15 Did you seek permission from government (whether state or local) to sell any part of your family land? Yes/ No.

3.16 If yes, why?

3.17 If no, why not?

3.18 Did your family usually survey a piece of land before sale? Yes/ No.

3.19 If no, how did you determine the boundaries of a plot to be sold?

3.20 Was any form of infrastructure/services (e.g. graded road, pipe-borne water, bore hole, electricity, etc) provided on the plot by your family before sale? Yes/ No.

3.21 If yes, name the infrastructure/services.

3.22 How did your family raise money to provide these infrastructure/services?

3.23 What kind of relationship exists between your family and those who have purchased land from you?

- (i) Mutual trust
- (ii) Minimal trust
- (iii) Mutual distrust
- (iv) Other (Explain).....

3.24 Were any third parties involved before, during or after the transaction between your family and any land purchaser? Yes/ No.

3.25 If yes, who were these third parties?

	Yes	No
Brokers (middle men)	[]	[]
Lawyers	[]	[]
Government land officials	[]	[]
Kin groups	[]	[]

3.26 Were there other third parties involved?

- Yes -> Please explain.....
- No

3.27 What roles were played by each of the actors involved?

3.28 Has government or any of its agencies acquired any part of your family land in the past?

- Yes
- No -> Thank you.

3.29 When was this? (Give year or years)

3.30 What was the size of the largest parcel of land acquired?.....ha

3.31 How were you informed of government's intention to acquire the land?

- (i) Newspaper ad
- (ii) Radio/TV announcement
- (iii) Official letter
- (iv) Other (Explain)

3.32 What was the reaction of your family members to the news?

3.33 Was any compensation paid by government for the acquired land?

- Yes
- No -> Thank you.

3.34 How much was paid?

3.35 Did you have to pay any tax out of this compensation back to government? Yes/ No.

3.36 If yes, what percentage of the compensation was the tax?

3.37 If no, why was tax not paid?

- (i) Tax not required
- (ii) Compensation insufficient to pay taxes
- (iii) Unaware of the requirement to pay tax on compensation
- (iv) Other (Explain).....

3.38 How was the compensation money shared among family members?

3.39 How was the money from compensation utilized by family members?

	Yes	No
Investment in children's education;	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
To capitalize micro-enterprises;	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
To purchase or build better house;	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
To fulfill one-time social obligation (e.g. marriage, traditional title-taking, funeral, etc);	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

3.40 Were there other ways family members utilized their share of compensation money from government?

Yes -> Please explain.....

No

Thank you.

Appendix II

Questionnaire Survey of Land Purchasers in Emene, Enugu

Greeting

I am carrying out an academic research on behalf of a US-based institution – The Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, Cambridge, Massachusetts – which is investigating the impact of large landowners on land values in different parts of the world. This questionnaire survey is aimed at identifying the ways land is bought and sold in Emene, Enugu. To achieve this, we shall be asking questions about the plot of land you have purchased, how you were able to make the purchase, and the processes involved in buying land in Emene.

Be assured that the purpose of the survey is purely academic and that every information you supply will be treated in strictest confidence. Your cooperation will be highly appreciated.

Thank you.

Date of interview:.....

Name/address of respondent:.....

1. From whom did you purchase your plot?

- (i) Community chief
- (ii) Family head
- (iii) Land subdivider
- (iv) Government allocation
- (v) Other (Specify).....

2. How did you come in contact with the original land owners?

- (i) Through friends
- (ii) Through relatives
- (iii) Through land agents
- (iv) Through newspaper ad
- (v) Other (Specify).....

3. How long did it take from the date of your first contact with the previous owners to the date you finally acquired the plot of land?

4. What was your main reason(s) for deciding to buy land in Emene?

	Yes	No
Nearness to workplace	[]	[]
Nearness to friends/family	[]	[]
Absence of land disputes	[]	[]
Availability of plots for sale	[]	[]
Low price of plots	[]	[]
Suitability of land for agriculture or other intended use	[]	[]

5. Were there other reasons for your decision to buy land in Emene?
 Yes -> Please explain.....
 No
6. Have you registered your land with relevant government agency since purchase?
 Yes
 No -> Go to Q8
7. Why did you consider it necessary to register the land?
8. If no, why did you not register the land?
9. If you have registered your land, was the process of registering a difficult one?
 Yes
 No -> Go to Q12
10. What were the difficulties?
11. Which government departments were involved in the registration process?
12. How long did it take from the date you submitted an application for registration of your plot of land to the date the registration was done?
13. Have you had any dispute(s) concerning your plot of land since purchase? Yes/ No.
14. If yes, what type of dispute(s) was that?
- | | Yes | No |
|------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Ownership | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Boundaries | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Use | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
15. Have you had any other dispute(s) concerning your plot of land since purchase?
 Yes -> Please explain.....
 No
16. Please complete the following table about whether and how each dispute was resolved and by whom.

Dispute	Whether Resolved (Yes/No)	How Dispute was Resolved	Who Resolved the Dispute

17. Was your plot of land surveyed before it was sold to you? Yes/ No.
18. What was the size of the plot when you first bought it?

19. What was the date of purchase?

20. What was the cost of the plot?

21. How did you make payments for your plot to the former owners?

(i) Lump sum

(ii) Installments

(iii) Higher purchase arrangements

(iv) Other (Specify).....

22. How did you raise the money to make the payments?

	Yes	No
Personal savings	[]	[]
Loan from friends/family	[]	[]
Loan from employer	[]	[]
Loan from bank	[]	[]

23. Were there other sources from which you raised money to make the payment?

[] Yes -> Please explain.....

[] No

24. Were there other charges (in cash or in kind) that you had to pay? Yes/ No.

25. If yes, what were these other charges?

26. To who were they paid?

27. Was any infrastructure/services (e.g., access road, electricity, pipe-borne water, drainage) provided by the former landowners before land was sold to you? Yes/ No.

28. If yes, what types of infrastructure/services were provided?

29. If no, who provided the infrastructure/services existing in your plot at the moment and how?

30. Do you pay any form of tax or levy on the land you have purchased? Yes/ No.

31. If yes, what is the payment(s) for?

32. To who is such payment(s) made?

33. Are you required to obtain approval from government agencies before commencing the development of your plot? Yes/No.

34. If yes, which government agencies are expected to grant such approval?

35. Have you subdivided your plot of land since purchase?

Yes

No -> Go to Q30

36. Into how many parts was the original plot subdivided?

37. What did you do with the sub-plots? Why?

38. If no, why have you not subdivided your plot?

39. Do you have any other plot(s) in Enugu or elsewhere? Yes/ No.

40. If yes, where is the plot located?

41. Do you plan to buy any more plots in the future in Enugu or elsewhere? Yes/ No.

42. If yes, why?

43. If no, why not?

Thank you.

Figure 1: Political map of Nigeria showing defunct regional structure.

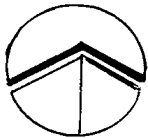
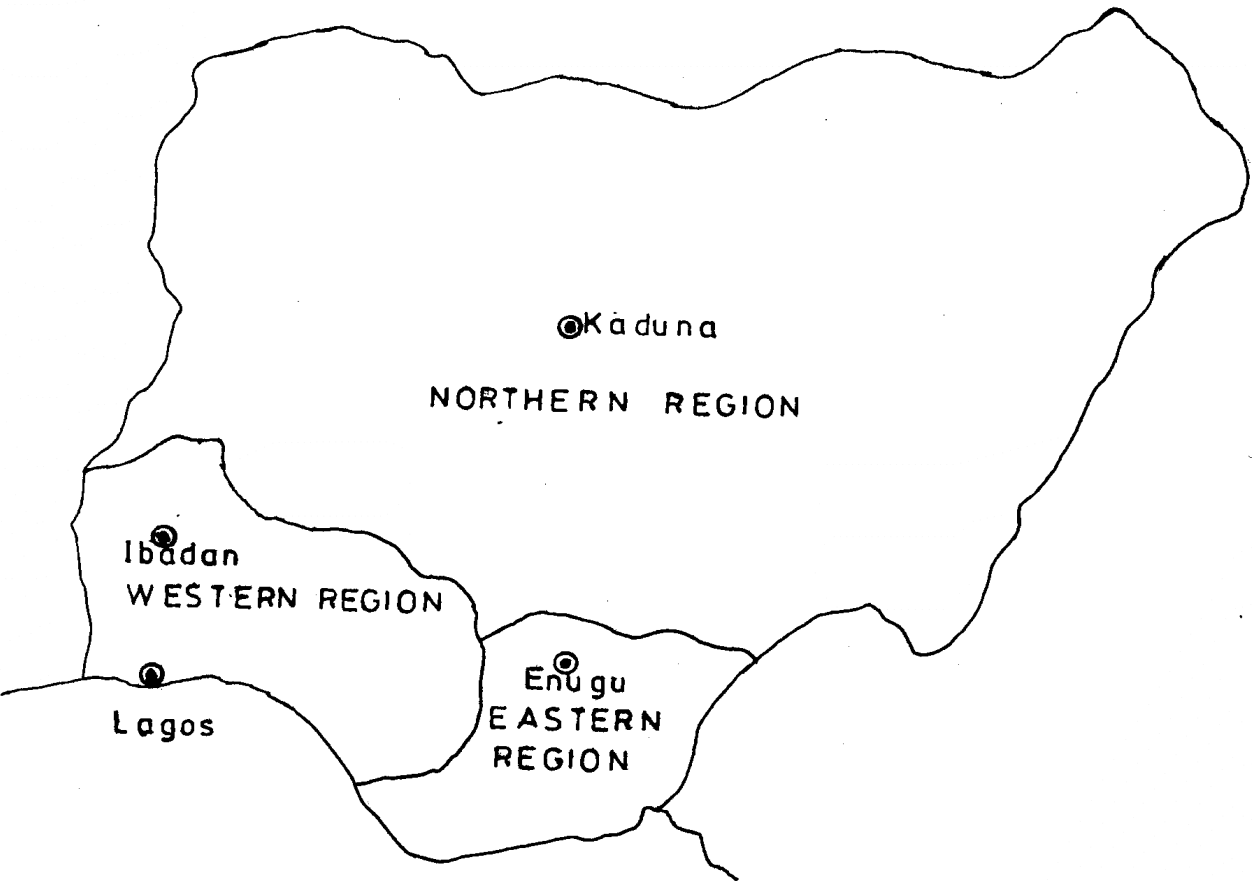
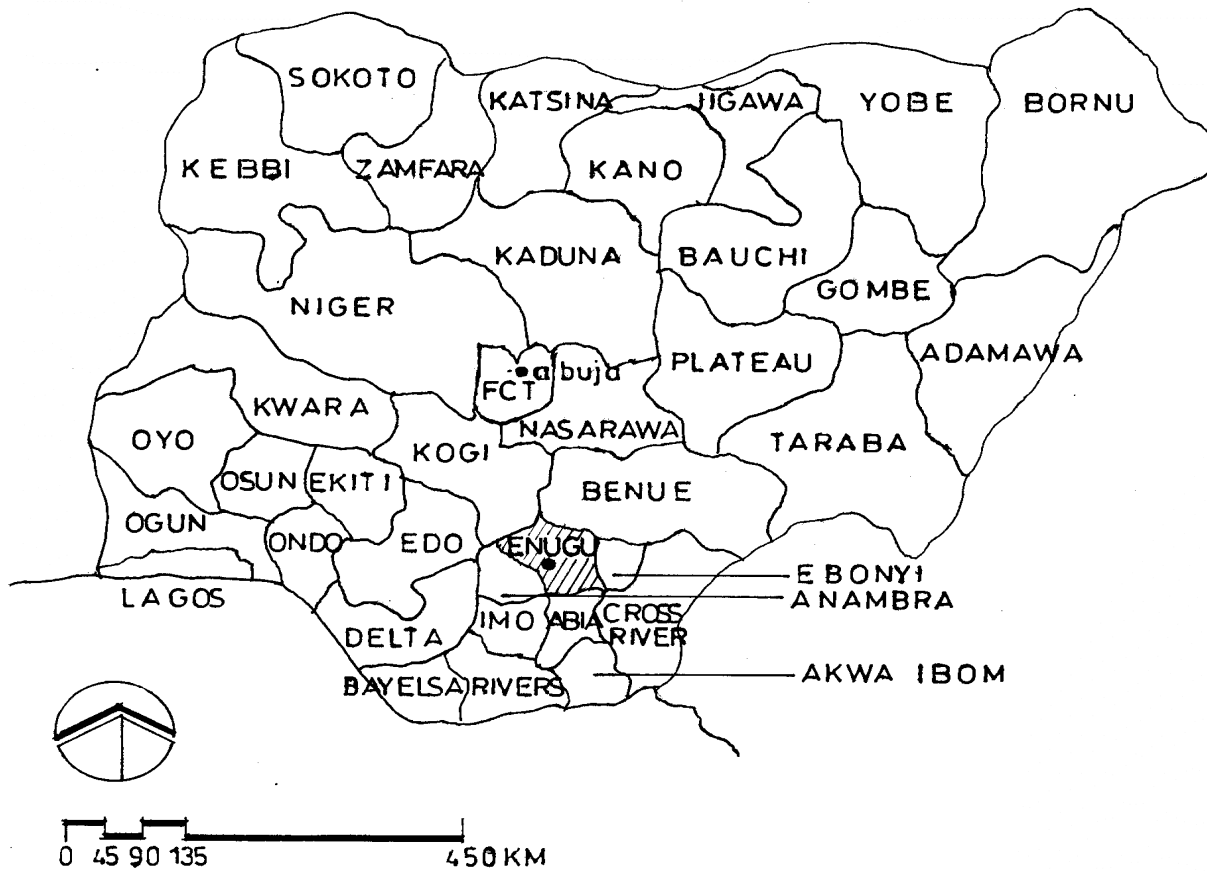
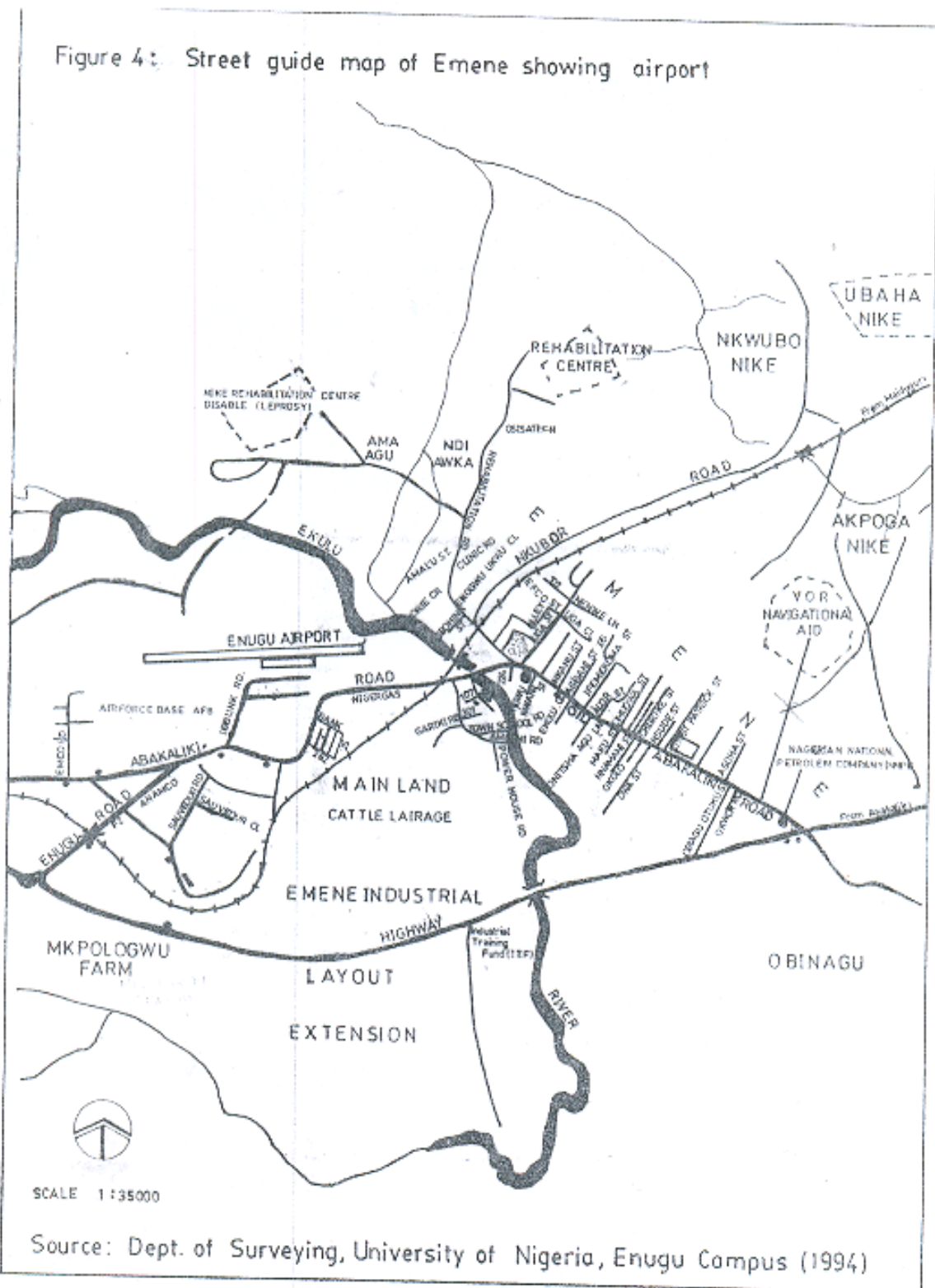


Figure 2: Political map of Nigeria showing State boundaries and the location of Enugu in Enugu State.



Source: Modified from Barbour et al. (1982, 29).

Figure 4: Street guide map of Emene showing airport



Source: Dept. of Surveying, University of Nigeria, Enugu Campus (1994)

Figure 3: Enugu and environs Tourist Guide Map, Showing Location of Case Study Settlement



Source: Dept. of Surveying, University of Nigeria Enugu Campus (1994)