

# Designing a pro poor land recordation system

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**Key words:** Pro-poor land tools, land recordation, index mapping

## SUMMARY

It is likely that less than 30 percent of most developing countries are covered by some form of land registration. That is, about 70 percent of people in developing countries are outside the register. To fill the gap UN-HABITAT's Global Land Tool Network partners have been supporting the use of a continuum or range of land rights to make it possible for the majority of people including the poor, to have security of tenure. Adopting a range of rights -including group rights, overlapping rights, secondary rights and lesser forms of rights, meant that it is not possible to use a conventional land administration system, as it is based on unique land parcels. By accepting that delivering security of tenure for the majority of people involves a range of other non parcel based rights meant that a new type of land information system had to be developed, hence the development of the Social Tenure Domain Model (STDM). However, the continuum of land rights approach also meant that a new cut down form of a land recordation system would need to be developed to make it possible for these different types of rights to be recorded in land records that can in the long run be linked to existing deeds and/or title systems. This paper is a first attempt to outline a legally robust cut down affordable land recordation system, which is also one of the tools identified by the Global Land Tool Network as being in the critical path of pro poor land policy implementation.

Land registration is both a complex and arcane subject matter. It is not possible to deal with all aspects of the proposed approach in this paper. Instead a general introduction will be given to the conceptual framework of such a cut down affordable land recordation system, identifying the key elements such as how it is proposed to deal with issues related to preventative justice, evidence generation and maintenance, notice and indexing (including spatial indexing). The paper will then go further in depth in regard to only two important issues namely firstly, the recording of multiple tenure rights on the same piece of land within a pro poor land recordation system. This will cover such issues as identification of the sticks in the bundle of rights and of different spatial units. Secondly the paper will discuss co-management, where a number of tasks or functions linked to the land records are undertaken by the community to make it more affordable, relevant and useful to poor communities, which are normally dealt with by government offices or professionals. This will cover such issues as the role of communities in land governance, the creation of evidence over time, capacity building and dispute resolution.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

It is likely that less than 30 percent of most developing countries are covered by some form of land registration. That is, about 70 percent of people in developing countries are outside the register. To fill the gap UN-HABITAT's Global Land Tool Network partners have been supporting the use of a continuum of land rights (Figure 1) or range of rights to make it possible for the majority of people including the poor, to have security of tenure (UN-HABITAT: 2008).

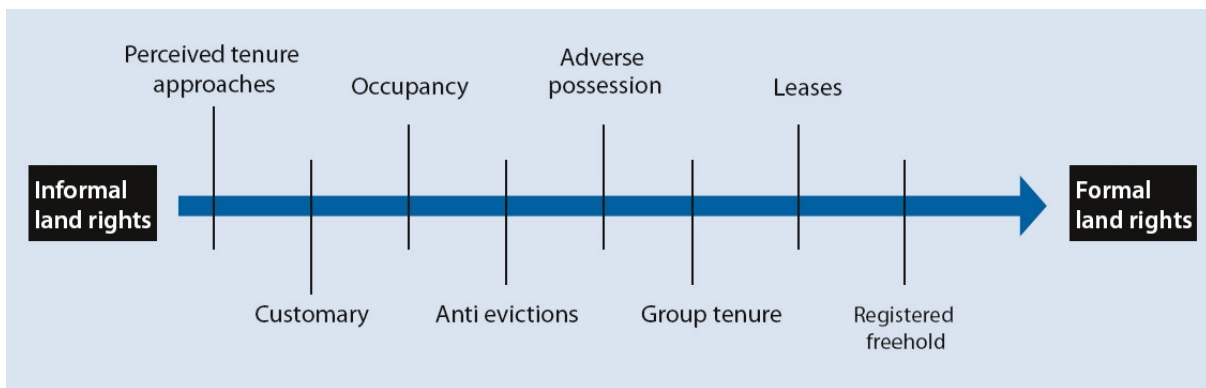


Figure 1. Continuum of land rights (UN-HABITAT: 2008)

Adopting a range of rights -including group rights, overlapping rights, secondary rights and lesser forms of rights, means that it is not possible to use a conventional land administration system, as it is based on unique land parcels. By accepting that delivering security of tenure for the majority of people involved a range of other forms of non parcel based rights meant that a new type of land information system had to be developed, hence the development of the Social Tenure Domain Model (STDM) (FIG: 2010). However, the continuum of land rights approach also means that a new cut down affordable form of land records would need to be developed to make it possible for these different types of rights to be recorded in land records, as well as linked to existing deeds and/or title systems. This paper is a first attempt to outline such a legally robust cut down affordable land recordation system, which is also one of the tools identified by the Global Land Tool Network as being in the critical path of pro poor land policy implementation.

Land registration is both a complex and arcane subject matter. It is not possible to deal with all aspects of the proposed approach in this paper. Instead a general introduction will be given to the conceptual framework of such a cut down land recordation system, identifying the key elements, such as how it is proposed to deal with issues related to preventative justice, evidence generation and maintenance, public notice and indexing, including spatial indexing among other things. The paper will then go further in depth in regard to only two important issues namely firstly, the recording of multiple tenure rights on the same piece of land within a pro poor land recordation system. This will cover such issues as layered tenure rights, main right holders not excluding secondary right holders and different (overlapping) rights each having their own spatial extent. Secondly, the paper will discuss co-management, where a

number of tasks conventionally linked to the land records system are instead undertaken by the community to make it more affordable, relevant and useful to poor communities. This will cover such issues as the role of communities in land governance, the creation of evidence over time, capacity building and dispute resolution.

## **2. FIRST DESIGN OF PRO-POOR LAND RECORDATION SYSTEM**

The first design of a pro poor land recordation system builds on community tenure practices and the formalization of these practices, including the introduction of land records and indexes. It also covers the introduction of a (barefoot) land officer and a record keeper, both embedded in both the community and the state structure. Other aspects include inspection, that the information on the records should not be sole evidence, dispute resolution and broader governance issues. We proposes a continuum of land recording which could support a range of rights, facilitate people to make a first step onto the property ladder and allow the upgrading of the land records and the systems over time, as appropriate.

### **2.1 Building on the community**

The pro poor system should be built on existing local approaches. In many situations the social land tenure system includes elements which would form an integral part of the pro poor system. Community rules in identifying leaders should be followed which could be a chief and elders in customary areas, and in informal areas local community leaders, ward or block heads, as well as possible special land committees working under the leader/s. In some communities religious leaders may be important. These types of leaders know the local land tenure rules and their current interpretation in changing circumstances. They also know the position and land interests of the different people in the community. During a transaction the leadership will know whether the person selling the land is entitled to sell it, and whether the buyer meets the criteria to acquire the rights. They will also know the family law appropriate to the parties such as for example, a lineage might have a pre-emption right when land is being sold, or the land rights of orphans when there is a sale. Leaders will also be used to act as witnesses to the parties' intentions and recording the knowledge in their heads and/or on paper.

Not all communities have stable leaders, or leaders who give equal and fair treatment to members of the community. However, the pro poor system needs to be built on community leaders because the conventional land registration system has not been able to cater for the needs of the poor. The capacity of leaders and communities will need to be developed through awareness creation, manuals, training and advice by the (barefoot) land officer and/or the local record keeper. This will take time, but it is the only way forward to extend security of tenure to the poor and build the systems over time.

## **2.2 Formalization and a land officer**

There is an increasing trend for non formal land transactions to be recorded on paper. The pro poor land recordation design is intended to build on this, and improve it where it exists. The first step would be the use of standardized forms being used for transactions (pre recordation). Standard formats will:- assist people to remember certain elements; allow for the slow introduction of equitable policies through for example, the manner in which items on the form are formulated (e.g. like expecting the inclusion of both spouses by leaving specific space for two names); and facilitate the later recording, processing and re-use. The forms should accommodate diversity and overlap in tenure arrangements and family relations, but bring clarity if, and when, possible.

Ideally, filling in the form should be supported, or even be done, by a neutral person with more appropriate knowledge than average. The (barefoot) land officer could also act as the secretary to the communities' leaders, but should maintain a neutral position. Their primary task is to identify clearly the intentions of buyer, seller and community, and have them documented correctly and understandably. Their role is not to decide about the relationship between the parties or the changes being negotiated, but just to facilitate. Advice on adherence to broader policies, such as national laws, can be added to the responsibility of the land officer in due course, but should not be rigid as this could stifle the land recordation system in its early stages.

The prime qualifications of the land officer at the outset would be literacy combined with acceptance within, and reasonable knowledge of, the community and its rules. Full capacity will not be possible at the outset, and capacity issues will be an issue right from the beginning. The knowledge of the land officers can be increased over time by offering additional training, e.g. through booklets and/or radio, and through mobile teams of trainers. Their funding as well as their appointment will depend on local circumstances and could be based in the municipality, district council, NGO and/or the community. The governance aspect needs to be dealt with appropriately, otherwise informal fees could appear in this pro poor system. In terms of co-management it would be necessary to get buy in from both the state and the community.

## **2.3 Recordation**

The next step is the recordation of the information in the land recordation system. This is only possible if minimal standardized forms and the land officer are already operating. The filled in forms would be presented to the local records office at community level. The ideal location for the records would differ according to local circumstances. In rural areas with a tribal structure not every village will need to have a land records' office. In larger cities, different districts, or slums, or areas which have been settled/invaded in one go will need to have their own land records' office. An important criterion when designing the boundaries of the jurisdiction of the records is that the community using the records must feel that they own the records and that the records do not just belong to a higher authority.

A key function of the land officer is to take the standardized form to the land records' office. At the land records' office the form will be received by the record keeper. The record keeper's role will include undertaking a very quick check to identify serious mistakes and s/he may also use this opportunity to build capacity in the land officer for the next case by giving advice. Although there are some overlaps in the functions of the land officer and the record keeper this is necessary to create enough checks and balances in the system.

## **2.4 Land records, indexes and the record keeper**

The record keeper will store the forms in an orderly fashion, normally by order of receiving them and numbering them in such a way that they can be easily retrieved by number. The record keeper will keep indexes of the forms. S/he will make a note of each form in a number of indexes linked to the forms. The first set of indexes is the name index, where one can search for a person by name, both as a seller and as a buyer. This can be challenging if the writing of names is not standardized, or when different scripts are used and transcription rules vary. It is prudent to enter the same transaction under two separate spellings rather than run the risk of not finding the name at a later date. Indexing can be done by using a card index box based system, or a bound book. The former is more flexible but can be manipulated more easily. Auxiliary indexes can also be set up in this way.

The second set of indexes is about the land. This index is considered vital in any modern land system. Land is more stable than people and therefore safer to use as the base of the documentation system. Each piece of land that is linked to a form or transaction should receive a number which is also used for all subsequent forms linked to the same piece of land. The weakness of such an administrative indexing system is how to establish whether a subsequent transaction affects the same land or not. Sometimes several documents describe the same parcel of land differently. This can be improved (definitely in urban areas) by placing the number visibly on the house structure. A further improvement can be made by putting the number also on some kind of graphical index (map), allowing that the information on the land document can be easily related to land on the ground. A range of methods can be used, including existing maps and plans. Once the community is ready and the competence is available, an enumeration, perhaps including some mapping, should be done to increase the clarity of the records. This could include participatory mapping and/or participatory Geographical Information Systems (p-mapping/pGIS), with or without aerial imagery as a backdrop to a sketch map. It is possible to derive a base map of a semi-developed area from a satellite image, and supply a paper print out to put the numbers on, and make subsequent changes, such as subdivisions. (At this stage it might be possible to link it to the Social Tenure Domain Model (STDM) software for land administration.) After a while this approach becomes more difficult as the area changes, densifies and is (re) developed. A comprehensive cadastral map with subdivision surveys should not be considered at this stage.

It may, however, not be possible to have any form of spatial index at the beginning, because of cost and technical complexity. The co-management and witness system, together with the planned small size of the land records' office jurisdiction, will probably be able to fill the gap

and ensure that the information on the land records (without a spatial index) will be able to be linked to parcels on the ground to some degree. The first steps should be modest, and use whatever is available or can be done realistically. Of course further steps can follow if and when appropriate.

## **2.5 Inspection**

As indicated, the pro poor system should have buy-in from both the community and the state. The state should have regional or national inspection mobile units which travel to all the pro poor systems to make inspections. They could undertake training and capacity development of the record keepers and land officers, based on weaknesses noticed in the records. They could also make backups of the records to limit the impact of disasters, violence or accidental fires. The community leadership, be it local government, customary or informal, could also play an inspection role, as and when necessary. This would show mutual inter-dependence and be vital to improved governance.

## **2.6 Important land information, but not the sole source of evidence**

The pro poor design is certainly not a title system. Nor is it a fully-fledged deeds system. Evidence which is counter to that on the recorded land documents should still be allowed in the pro poor system. Over time the information on the records will be seen as more certain if recorded information is perceived as more credible relative to verbal information, and if earlier recorded information has priority over information that is recorded later. Some of these advantages can also be introduced at later stages. They should fit the way the community understands its tenure system and the role the land records should play in it. Whatever the status of the evidence, people who start a transaction will benefit from the information in the land records' office, as they will be able to undertake a form of status check on the land.

## **2.7 Dispute Resolution**

Land conflict is common and disputes arise frequently. Dispute resolution mechanisms need to be put in place. Many communities have traditional, local or alternative dispute resolution mechanisms. The proposed pro poor system could build on these systems. However, some communities might not have existing systems and a dispute resolution system might need to be set up to deal with conflicting opinions on who has access to which land, and on what rules to apply, and how to interpret them. The dispute resolution mechanism should be acceptable to the disputing parties and the wider community, including those who make and implement the decisions. The dispute resolution mechanisms should be linked to the land records' office, both to assist in making the decisions as well as in the recording of the decisions. The records should be one source of evidence.

If and when, depending on the local situation and needs, a more systematic adjudication is done it should be a transparent and participatory process. During adjudication most of the (dormant) conflicts will emerge and should be settled. This will mean that fewer conflicts will

emerge after such an adjudication exercise is completed. Again it will depend on local conditions as to whether the community goes through a systematic adjudication or deals with disputes on a sporadic basis. Ultimately to ensure security of tenure of the poor, they will need to be mobilized around the land records' office and be part of the design and roll out.

**2.8 Broader governance issues**

The governance of land includes a wide range of issues such as political will, supply and demand for land, system capacity, level of corruption in the society, the role of civil society, and many other aspects are only one element which builds better land governance. However, for the land records to contribute to better governance of land for the poor it will be essential that the land recordation system is owned both by the state and the local community.

**2.9 Continuum of land recording**

The pro poor land recordation system should be the first step on the property ladder. These pro poor land records should be part of a continuum of land recording. This idea was originally outlined by van der Molen (2006) (see Figure 2). The pro poor land recordation system under discussion here is one step before the van der Molen approach.

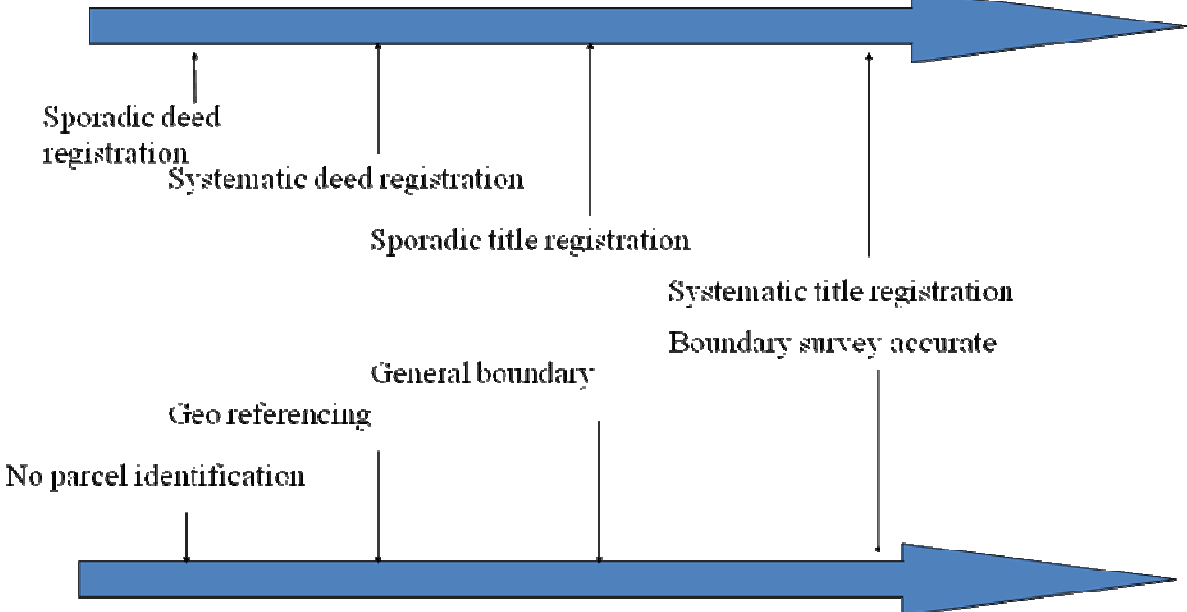


Figure 2: Growth path for land registration and cadastral systems (Van der Molen: 2006).

The pro poor system would be built on existing paper based approaches being used in communities and would be cheap and simple enough for local experts. Taking the step from informal paper systems into a pro poor land recordation system would contribute to increased recognition of the communities' land rights by the state and facilitate local government land management activities. Both the exact shape of the pro poor land recordation system and the point at which the pro poor system would be upgraded to another major level would have to

be determined during piloting and scaling and would also depend on the local situation. While the legal-administrative and mapping sides of the land records can evolve at different speeds, they should not get completely out of sync.

### **3. RECORDING MULTIPLE TENURES**

One of the weaknesses of many land registration projects in developing countries deals with the focus that is normally given to the main right. This can be (private) ownership in some countries, or a strong land use right like leasehold in others. However, the social land tenures of low income people need to be recognized and protected as well. They can include group and family tenure arrangements; secondary rights over property (e.g. access through private property to a common water point); tenure adaptations to local circumstances and history (e.g. flooding such as in Bangladesh); different forms of evidence (e.g. trees), and tenures used by groups of migrants (e.g. in slums). These different forms are often part of complex customary relationships which protect the weak. These secondary rights are often a key part of the social security system for women and the vulnerable. The loss of these secondary rights can have a significant impact on people's livelihoods. Such relationships are usually ignored in the formal land tenure arrangements and their codification in laws, which tend to favour elites over the poor and marginalized. Land systems controlled by elites (often originally from outside the country) made access to land and statutory land rights for the poor extremely difficult. Generally conventional systems have focused on the main rights (often the formal colonial types) and not on these secondary rights. Conventional systems as implemented in many developing countries are not fully transparent, or participatory, and this also causes bias. Informal tenure arrangements have filled the gap to enable the poor to house themselves and undertake subsistence farming. To recognize and protect these informal arrangements is a core requirement for the proposed system. There have been many reports of registered owners of the main right preventing access to their land by holders of unrecorded secondary rights, including fencing them off. Examples of such cases, which were previously accepted as part of the community structure, include seasonal movement of herds over (barren) fields in Kenya (Lengoiboni 2011) or even crossing through forest or over fields on foot in Zambia (Mulolwa: 2002). In the proposed system it will be possible to record all the local types of interests, including secondary rights. The existence of a recorded main right should not alter the ability to keep using a pre-existing secondary right which is acknowledged by the community. Furthermore the system will allow for the recording of an existing secondary right which is acknowledged by the community, independently from the main right if so desired.

### **4. CO-MANAGEMENT BETWEEN THE LAND RECORDS' OFFICE AND THE COMMUNITY**

Comby argues that land registration systems were developed through two different historical processes. The first process is one where the customary tenure arrangements in a country become codified over time and form the basis of the land registration system. He argues that the French system evolved in this manner. (Comby: 2010). The second process is one where the colonial state creates the land registration system. This system in contrast does not evolve



from the existing social tenures but instead is an instrument and imposition of the colonial state on those who have been colonised. In this situation there is a disjuncture between the land registration system and the majority of citizens in the country in regard to the registration/recordation of their land rights, including the types of evidence used. This situation started during the colonial era and has continued into the postcolonial era, as these systems have remained largely unchanged continuing to use the colonial forms of legal evidence of rights (Comby: 2010). We are arguing that we need to learn from how land registration systems were set up historically from customary tenure, the way communities manage their land tenure systems today both in customary and informal areas, as well as the type of approaches that are being advocated by civil society organisations for engaging with the grassroots, community based organisations and non government organisations (GLTN: 2009, GLTN: N.D.).

Drawing from these and other experiences, the proposed land recordation system design is based on a co-management approach, whereby some of the tasks conventionally carried out in a land registry and/or surveyor general and/or by notaries and/or surveyors are instead carried out by the community and its leaders, in conjunction with a local land records' office. The term co-management initially gained currency in the field of natural resources, where it is understood as a partnership arrangement between a community of local resource users and other primary stakeholders who share responsibility and authority for resource management (MacFadyen et al: 2005 as quoted in GLTN: 2010). As pointed out in this GLTN publication, the terms of the arrangement have to be carefully negotiated and maintained ensuring that the roles, responsibilities and contributions of the parties are clear. Also there needs to be clarity around the storage and ownership of data for all parties and that the expectations of the different parties are realistic. Critically the parties must be able to openly discuss the power relations between them (GLTN: 2010). Such a co-management approach could have a range of benefits for a land recordation system, including filling capacity and resource gaps, enabling access to government data, providing access to land administration innovations, monitoring inclusion and ensuring protection of vulnerable groups and management of conflicts and ensuring sustainability (GLTN: 2010).

The co-management design features in an affordable cut down version of a land recordation system would take a range of forms, such as for example the facilitation of a range of new forms of evidence which reflect the social tenures already existing in these communities. These forms are outlined below and cover land governance, capacity building, identity witnessing, evidence creation, dispute resolution, para-legal aid, building the currency and legitimacy of the land records and political support.

#### **4.1 Land governance**

There is increasing recognition that land recordation systems are not a panacea to solve all problems, are not politically neutral and can be captured by the elites. To improve the land governance around a pro poor land recordation system, the system needs to be linked more closely to its user community through a co-management approach. There is an increasing amount of work which shows that the officials in these systems are using these systems for

corrupt purposes (Transparency International: 2009). We are arguing that to improve land governance, a local land records' office should be embedded in community processes to improve the land governance issues and increase transparency and inclusivity. This is particularly important in a globalizing world where there is increasing competition around land. It would be critical for the wider community to supply land governance support to a pro poor land records' office to protect the rights of the community, particularly the poor.

The community, and particularly its leaders, such as local government leaders, community based leaders, non government organisations leaders, should carry out parts of the land recordation system tasks. This will make the system more affordable to the poor, particularly by cutting down the large amount of professional time that is usually involved. However, removing professionals from day to day operations to improve affordability can also weaken the capacity of the land recordation system on its own to deliver security of tenure and could increase the likelihood of poor administration which is often linked to corruption. The land governance function of the land recordation system also needs to be supported by the community using the system. That is, the community and its leaders need to have an increased oversight function of the land recordation system and the operations of its officials to ensure that the interests of the users are being looked after. Only in this way can a transparent and inclusive system be designed, which also looks after the rights of the vulnerable including the poor. This will also mean that the community and particularly its leaders will have to have a great deal more knowledge about how the system works than is currently known. The Global Land Tool Network gender evaluation criteria pilots in Brazil, Ghana and Nepal have shown that it is possible to build such knowledge at the grassroots level. It was also found that this knowledge empowered the communities and their leaders to engage with land administration officials in a positive and practical way (UN-HABITAT/Global Land Tool Network: N.D.)

## **4.2 Local forms of evidence**

Communities are the repositories of local knowledge about forms of evidence in regard to the range of land rights such as secondary rights, overlapping rights and temporary rights. They are also able to interpret the evolving nature of the evidence. For example, in matrilineal societies men leave their land to their sister's sons, not their own sons. However, as these societies urbanize, at some point in time a man may start leaving his land to his own son. It would not be possible to codify this evolving form of evidence over time especially where there is a wide range of inheritance practices in a country. This approach has already been adopted in the Flexible Land Tenure bill of the Government of Namibia (Alberts et al: 1995). The community leaders, as witnesses to the transaction/transfer would be creating the relevant forms of evidence at transfer. They would also be key not only in identifying the individuals selling and buying the property, but would also be able to make the status of the seller and buyer clear. This has been seen to be particularly important in countries such as Ivory Coast where land was 'sold' to immigrants, but when the immigrant sold to other buyers, the traditional owners claimed that they still held the underlying rights (Colin: 2010). A pro poor land recordation system would need to be able to interpret and record these kind of nuanced land rights as well.

### **4.3 Legitimate land records**

Legitimate land records. The credibility and legitimacy of the land recordation system would rest both on the fact that the land recordation system was part of the state, in this case the local authority, structure but more importantly it would need to also take its legitimacy from the community leadership structure. Ultimately the currency of the system, its use by the community and its usefulness to the community would rest on the community leadership and its relationship to the land recordation system. The Rehoboth registry in Namibia has shown that where the land recordation system is based at the local level and has useful information for individuals, as well as the community itself in undertaking land management, that there is an important synergy between local government leaders, community leaders and the land records' staff (Alberts et al: 1995). Importantly, because the land records will be created based on local forms of evidence, this will make it possible to build customary and informal social tenure approaches into the legal system over time. This will replace, or add to, the colonial forms of evidence which to date have been the only forms of evidence in many existing post colonial systems.

### **4.4 'Barefoot' land officer**

The role of someone to assist the community with land legal aid questions would be critical to the success of the system. The 'barefoot' land officer would be needed to build capacity in the community in regard to how the land recordation system worked, as well as give advice on transfers and ensure the currency of the system. This person would also serve as a check and counter balance to the power of the record keeper, a key issue in co-management. This could be a role within a local authority structure, a community development structure or a non government organization.

Land records do not just supply security of tenure, the rights and boundary information are also critical for the delivery of a range of sectoral issues which are critical at municipal level such as environmental management, urban transport systems and urban management in general, service delivery which impacts health, watershed management and so on. This person could also interpret information from the land records for purposes of land management such as the identification of land on which to build a school. The Rehoboth registrar in Namibia often supplied legal advice informally to individuals, as well as land information for land management to the Rehoboth municipality (Alberts et al: 1995).

### **4.5 Political will**

Land rights are social conventions about the distribution of benefits from land use. (Deininger: N.D.). From another angle, this means that political elites will often try and set up a land registry and/or capture the land registry for their own purposes – that is to distribute the land use rights for their own benefit. This effectively means that to protect the land rights of the poor it is necessary, but not sufficient, to place these rights in a land recordation system.

However, such a system does not exist in isolation from the political system. Therefore to ensure security of tenure of the poor, they need to also be linked to and mobilized around the land records' office. This means that both political understanding and political will by the community and its leaders relative to the system needs to become part of the system design and implementation.

#### **4.6 Co-management functions**

A pro poor land recordation system cannot stand on its own. In order to function effectively to protect the rights of the community including the poor it needs to be in a co-management arrangement with a community. The tasks of the community and particularly its leadership would be to:

- Create the land governance context within which the land recordation system is situated including the political will and support necessary to keep it responsive to users' requirements.
- Create local oversight over the land records' office and ensure that its records are safe guarded.
- Be reliable identity witnesses, thus obviating the need for expensive personal documentation systems.
- Create evidence of rights over time about the range of rights in that community and ensure that the land rights in the community are protected through the land recordation system.
- Ensure that a 'barefoot' land official is in place to build capacity in the community over time to be partners of the land recordation system office and advise individuals and leaders about their options.
- Provide the first port of call for local land disputes.
- If the land rights in the community are created in a systematic fashion, then the community and its leaders should be at the forefront of the first recording of rights, through such mechanisms as participatory enumeration.

In this co-management approach the tasks of the land recordation system would be:

- Record the transfer agreements and evidence used.
- Maintain the records over time.
- Index the records, including linking them to a rudimentary spatial index.
- Supply the inspection mechanism.
- Supply information to users, leaders and land managers.
- Supply the credibility of the state structures through being located at local government level.
- Supply the link to the legal framework.

### **5. FINAL REMARKS**

This paper only presented the core of the proposed pro poor land recordation system, and some more on two important issues. More can be found in an extensive paper learning from

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TS07G - Innovative and Pro-poor Land Records and Information System, paper 5028

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history, introducing key elements and design requirements that was the base for an Expert Group Meeting 15-16 March 2011 in Paris, and will be finalized in April (Zevenbergen: 2011). Although the Meeting strongly supported the first design, more work will be necessary, on its institutional setting and detailed design. Only then can pilots begin to come to a truly pro poor land recordation system to underpin tenure security of the whole continuum of rights, also for the poor and underprivileged groups.

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## **BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES**

**Jaap Zevenbergen** is professor in land administration systems at the University of Twente, Faculty of Geo-Information Science and Earth Observation (ITC), department of Urban and Region Planning and Geoinformation Management in Enschede - The Netherlands. He holds Master degrees in geodetic engineering and law and defended his PhD on systems of land registration in 2002. He has published several articles and numerous papers about land administration and land registration. He has studied numerous systems of land registration, both as a researcher and as a consultant, the most recent being Ethiopia and Ghana. He is also a co-chair of Commission 7 Working Group 2 (with David Mitchell).

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