Secure Land Tenure Rights for All: A Key Condition for Sustainable Development

Successful Approaches and Their Impacts
The aim of this policy paper is to present successful approaches to secure land tenure rights in rural and urban areas. To support future programmatic decisions by the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ), this paper focuses especially on impacts and good practices. It discusses examples from the German technical cooperation but also includes good practices and impacts achieved by other development partners.

Secure land tenure rights for all are essential to reduce poverty and create sustainable development, because they underpin economic development, ecological sustainability and social inclusion. Secure land tenure rights enable people in rural and urban areas to invest in their livelihoods and their homes. Insecure tenure puts people at the risk of eviction and can be a cause for national and international migration flows. In short, it creates high social costs and threatens the social cohesion of regions, nations and entire world regions. Nevertheless, 70% of the world’s population still has no access to formal land registration systems. Globally, only 30 states have a functioning, countrywide land administration that also recognizes local land tenure systems. In 2014, 30% of the urban population in developing regions lived in slums with a lack of any formal recognition of tenure. Women often only have indirect tenure rights allocated by male members of their family.

To secure access to land is an essential element for the realization of many human rights and a basic requirement to achieve the Sustainable Development Goals. However, it is not easy to find the right approach for a country as the approach strongly depends on the legal, cultural and environmental conditions as well as the readiness in terms of legal preparation and technical capabilities. Any land registration approach should be fit for its purpose, as well as affordable and self-sustaining in the long-term.

There is increasing evidence of positive economic, social and environmental effects of improved tenure security. Agricultural yields often increase after registration. Women in particular benefit from secure tenure rights because it empowers them to make their own decisions. Secure land tenure also leads to increased investment in soil conservation, such as fallowing practices. Recognized indigenous and community forest rights are strongly associated with lower rates of deforestation and higher levels of carbon storage. Clear and secure land rights boost government finances thanks to increased tax and fee collection. Establishing land tenure stabilizes post-conflict societies.

Nevertheless, challenges remain. Land registration remains costly. Only a few countries have managed to lower their surveying and registration costs and to set up sustainable registry systems. Powerful interests often create conflicts. The political will to engage in deep-rooted reforms remains a basic requirement for successful tenure reforms.

Countries should recognize and formalize the various forms of land rights, whether they are individual or communal, private or customary. This requires increasing the awareness and acceptance among various levels of society, but especially among the implementing authorities. Strengthening women’s rights is a key. A particularly effective measure is to issue registration documents specifically for women or, where possible, for men and women together. Fit-for-purpose solutions based on good digital practices need to be fast and cost-efficient, but need to deliver sufficient accuracy and security at the same time. Countries should invest in simple and affordable systems to ensure their long-term maintenance and financial self-sufficiency. It is essential to resolve conflicts, whether they are local in nature or more complex. Mediation mechanisms can help to treat unresolved cases. Land tenure security requires a holistic approach linking registration with land management (e.g., defining land uses through participatory land use planning). This will help steer the overall physical development of a country. Establishing the legal and institutional framework will ensure long-term equity, inclusiveness, transparency, participation, and accountability.
GLOBALLY, FEW PEOPLE HAVE SECURE ACCESS TO LAND

70% of the world’s population has no access to formal land registration systems. Globally, only 30 states have a functioning, countrywide land administration that also recognizes local land tenure systems. Only 10% of Africa’s land is formally documented. Women often only have indirect tenure rights allocated by male members of their family.

In 2014, 30% of the urban population in developing regions lived in slums, where people normally lack any formal recognition of tenure rights. In Sub-Saharan Africa more than half (55%) of the urban population is affected, in South Asia 32%. With an annual urban population growth in least developed countries of 4% in 2017 (Sub-Saharan Africa: 4%; South Asia: 2.5%), the number of urban dwellers without secure tenure rights will remain high in the near future.

WHY LAND TENURE SECURITY MATTERS

Secure land tenure rights for all are essential to reduce poverty and create sustainable development because they underpin economic development, ecological sustainability and social inclusion. Secure land tenure rights enable people in rural and urban areas to invest in their livelihoods and homes. Many studies have shown that secure tenure provides an incentive to use land and resources in a more sustainable manner. In contrast, insecure tenure puts people at the risk of being evicted, displaced or losing access to the land or resources they depend on. Insecure tenure can be a cause for national and international migration flows and threatens the social cohesion of nations and entire world regions. For many states, the lack of registered or demarcated public land puts severe constraints on future spatial development of urban and rural areas and can generate high social and environmental costs.

INSECURE TENURE CREATES HIGH SOCIAL COSTS

Many countries do not recognize and formally register the lands of indigenous peoples, which has often resulted in social conflict, poverty, environmental degradation and the loss of indigenous cultures and traditions.

In 2018, global displacement was at a record high: over 40 million people were displaced internally; more than 22 million became refugees in other countries.

Insecure land tenure or clashes over the access to and use of land have often played an important role in many of the recorded conflicts. Large-scale infrastructure projects or investments in land increasingly contribute to such displacements. Migration flows, also caused by climate change and natural disasters, often unleash new conflicts, as migrants compete over resources with host communities.

LAND IS AN ESSENTIAL ELEMENT FOR THE REALIZATION OF MANY HUMAN RIGHTS AND A BASIC REQUIREMENT TO ACHIEVE THE SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS

Access to, use of and control over land directly affect the enjoyment of a wide range of human rights. This includes the right to life, the right to property, the right to food, the right to adequate housing, the right to water and sanitation, the right to freedom of movement and residence and the rights of indigenous peoples to their traditional lands, territories and resources, including water.

The denial of people’s legitimate tenure rights often limits other human rights, such as the right to an effective remedy, right to freedom of opinion, expression and association, right to participation, right to self-determination and the principles of rule of law and non-discrimination and equality.

To this end, the international community has agreed on several guiding documents to improve the governance of tenure, such as the “Voluntary Guidelines on the Responsible Governance of Tenure of Land in the Context of National Food Security” or the “Framework and Guidelines on Land Policy in Africa”. Also, land is considered key for development in the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. Achieving the three goals – no poverty, zero hunger and gender equality – is partly based on secure and equal access to land.

FINDING THE RIGHT FIT

A variety of sectors benefit from secure land rights, for instance agriculture, urban and infrastructure development, public finance, climate change mitigation and adaptation, forest management, conservation and regeneration, housing development for refugees and internally displaced persons, credit and housing markets, and post-conflict reconstruction.

Land tenure security is based on individual, household
as well as community legitimate claims. The Global Land Tool Network (GLTN) has described the various ways and forms for land tenure security in its continuum of land rights. On one side of the continuum, land rights are defined informally for individuals or groups. On the other side of the spectrum, registered freehold titles for individuals or documents of similar effect for communities are registered in a modern land registration system. Other forms of rights exist between the two poles that can equally lift the status of security for individuals or groups. Securing land tenure should therefore be seen as a process towards more security for individuals and groups.

The right fit for a region or country strongly depends on its legal, cultural or environmental conditions. It also depends on its readiness in terms of legal preparation and technical capabilities. Any registration of tenure rights should be adapted to the needs of the owners and land users. For example, countries where customary land tenure systems prevail might find the continuum approach most appropriate to plan tenure rights improvements. Interventions can reach from participatory development of a policy framework to the establishment of an effective legal framework, systematic and countrywide registration of tenure rights or a sector-based approach. By no means should the formalization result in the elimination of legitimate tenure rights claims. To capture the various legitimate claims in a registration system, the social tenure domain model has been developed. It allows registering claims by several parties on the same spatial unit.

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The International Federation of Surveyors (FIG) recommends the use of the fit-for-purpose approach. Based on international experience, the accuracy of parcel surveys and the administrative effort for registering tenure rights should be in line with parcel values and ability of the local population to shoulder fees. On average, surveying costs should not exceed US$ 20–30 per parcel in order to ensure sustainable financing. In many countries, costs of around US$ 8–15 are desirable and realistic, if a modern fit-for-purpose technology is applied. Costs will be higher in urban areas based on parcel value and accuracy requirements. The establishment of a national geodata infrastructure will be necessary for long-term data management and maintenance.
The international financial and technical cooperation community has tested a large variety of approaches in many different country settings. Based on evolving evidence, the following key elements seem promising to tackle the land tenure question in the global South:

**Land registration and cadastre:** Many land administration projects in the transitional countries in Eastern Europe successfully focussed on transparent one-stop-shop solutions to register private land using high technical standards, as these countries were more advanced in the first place. Many of these projects also supported the establishment of National Spatial Data Infrastructure (NSDI) applying EU standards. In contrast, the fit-for-purpose land administration approach often applied in rural Africa aims to meet the specific requirements and capabilities rather than just following a rigid set of regulations and demands for accuracy. Different accuracies are usually required for rural and urban settings. Border or land use conflicts are resolved during the process to eventually enable the registration of rights.

**Formalization of customary land:** The legal frameworks of many African countries provide for the formalization of customary land tenure. The formalization of customary rights should follow the existing legal framework. It is paramount that all land users benefit from formalization equally and not just a few.

**Secure secondary rights of land users on land under customary or private ownership:** Many land users can only claim secondary rights. They may have received the land for a limited or even for an unlimited period, but they are not the customary or private owners. Their rights need to be secured as well, in particular when customary rights are formalized. This is usually done by introducing and issuing formal lease agreements, tenancy and land use contracts. Otherwise, secondary rights may be extinguished through the formalization of primary rights.

**Registration of public land:** The precondition to ensure responsible public land management is the identification, participatory delimitation and registration of all public land. Only few countries have included public land in their Cadastre/land registry or possess a separate public land inventory. This situation easily results in the illicit allocation of public land.

**Distribution of state-owned land to the landless and landpoor:** Land reform is often a key approach to ensure that the landless also receive appropriate land for farming or settlement. However, redistribution of private lands often creates conflict, requires a very long time horizon or is very costly. Approaches that are more limited seem to be preferred by countries, such as the Cambodian case of the issuance of social land concessions.

**Secure community land rights:** Where legislation provides for it, support to the identification, participatory delimitation and registration of community land can be given. This includes land of indigenous communities.
Empower women and marginalized groups: There is tremendous evidence of high returns from the support of land tenure rights for women or marginalized groups. Increased land tenure security empowers women and marginalized groups immediately because it strengthens their position within their community, region or country and allows them to take their own decisions. This often leads to stronger effects in project implementation.

Responsible agricultural investment respecting customary and community tenure: Providing support to (agricultural) investment agencies aims to improve their standards and procedures to ensure that private large-scale land-based investments comply with all necessary social and environmental safeguards, respect human and tenure rights and do not result in the displacement of local communities.

Regularization of informal tenure in informal settlements: Increasing tenure security of squatters in informal settlements to protect them from eviction has a proven track record to improve the livelihoods of the urban poor. Starting in the 1990s, Senegal allocated land use certificates (droits de superficie) to squatters in Senegal that entitled them to apply for titles. Kenya introduced community land trusts to protect squatters from eviction. Experience has shown repeatedly that such tenure security does not require the allocation of individual titles.

EXAMPLES OF BMZ SUPPORT TO SECURE LAND TENURE IMPLEMENTED BY GIZ

- **Registration of private and communal land in Laos:** From 2015 to 2018, 41,263 parcels in 149 villages were registered, including private residential and agricultural land as well as collective, state and communal land. 45% of the private land was registered as co-owned by both spouses, 27% in the name of women only. 13,301 households have also potentially benefited from new village-level participatory land use plans. The national cadastral database supported by the programme already contains 116,000 data entries. Next steps include the migration of the existing cadastral to the countrywide LaoLandReg.

- **Formalising primary and secondary customary land rights in Uganda:** Since 2016, 12,105 parcels were surveyed for issuing lease agreements (certificates of occupancy) and 2,226 parcels for issuing certificates of customary ownership.

- **Land title for indigenous people in Peru:** Since 2016, 31 land titles for indigenous groups have been issued in Peru covering a total surface of 271,100 ha. This has benefited 2,700 people.

- **Allocation of federal public land in Brazil:** Since 2009, about 32,000 titles and 9,000 certificates of recognized occupancy have been allocated to about 350,000 persons (30,000 families). About 29% of the recipients are women. The total land allocated up to now amounts to 3.2 million ha. Over 90% of the parcels are below 400 ha, over 70% are below 100 ha.

- **Allocation of Social Land Concessions to landless and landpoor households in Cambodia:** About 12,300 families received land through social land concessions. Farmers are required to put the assigned land into productive use within 5 years to receive a title. So far, land titles have been distributed to 1,583 households. A survey with 89 households in three provinces showed that the number of food insecure households was reduced from 24% in 2016 to 2% in 2018.

- **Responsible agricultural investments in Ethiopia:** GIZ support to the national and regional authorities has led to a reduction of the maximum allowable area for investors from 1 million ha to 1,000 ha for domestic, and 3,000 ha for international investors. State agencies have started to apply social and environmental safeguards to protect the rights of farm holders and to better control the environmental impacts.

- **Regularization of informal tenure in informal settlements in Namibia:** The government is currently exploring the use of a flexible land tenure system that includes collective and individual elements to address the growing informal population around major cities.
Reliable access to land creates incentives for sustainable economic activity and encourages investment. This promotes production and can lead to increased food security in the long run. On registered land in Cambodia and Ethiopia, yields increased by up to 35% compared to unregistered households. In Rwanda, registered households were twice as likely to invest in dams or terraces as non-registered households. In Benin between 2011 and 2015, the probability that farmers would plant perennial crops and trees was 40% higher among farmers with land titles than among those without.

Formalization of rights promotes cost-effective exchange and the unlocking of resources embedded in real estate. Well-documented and transferable property rights along with a functional land administration facilitate the low-cost transfer of land. This contributes to the development of financial markets in countries where a certain level of per capita income has been attained, so that land is no longer the primary safety net, and where profitable investment opportunities are available for potential borrowers. A World Bank-funded land administration project in Uganda that digitised more than 600,000 land records triggered a strong growth of the formal real estate market reaching an estimated annual size of some US$ 3.4 billion corresponding to about 14% of GDP. The amount of mortgages in the market reached close to 1% of GDP with a strong potential to reach 5% in the next years.

Higher land and real estate values are often a result of increased tenure security provided through formal or informal means. In Mozambique for instance, the average value for one square metre urban land with documentation was 60% higher than for land without formal documentation. The rental value was about twice as high for land with documentation as for land without formal documentation.

Cadastre and registration provides the necessary information to facilitate the assessment and collection of land-related taxes and other land-based finance, such as betterment levies and land value capture. These additional public revenues allow for increased public sector expenditure in infrastructure and services. The accumulated fiscal revenue generated by a land administration project in Uganda between 2012 and 2017 exceeded US$ 113 million, twice the investment funded by the World Bank.

Efficiency savings: Some projects go beyond cadastre and land registration and build up national spatial data infrastructures. Such spatial data infrastructure stimulates efficiency gains in various sectors by improving cooperation and coordination, spatial data sharing and introducing e-government practices. In the above example of Uganda, the adjusted monetary value of time saved, only between 2015 and 2017 for the sales and mortgage transactions, attained an important magnitude of US$ 7 million.

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Social impacts

Reduced gender and intra-household inequalities, female empowerment: To improve women’s access to land and tenure security through changes in inheritance law, the introduction of coownership for spouses, the promotion of titles for women etc. improves the likelihood of women inheriting land, being in self-employment and being increasingly involved in household decision-making. The OECD estimates that children in countries with gender-sensitive land rights systems are 60% less at risk of hunger. Female-headed households in Rwanda, who have received land certificates, were much more likely to invest in soil conservation measures than households in the control group.

In the Kenya Justice Program, male elders were educated on the importance of women’s land rights. The result: not only did women’s access to and ownership of land increase, but so did their overall empowerment. A year after the project ended, 22 women were elected as elders, and now lead the community resolving local disputes alongside male elders.

Improved security and social stability: The clear definition of rights enables land owners to defend those rights against the claims of others. Thus, tenure security can increase social stability as it minimises conflict over land. This becomes obvious in post-conflict situations when the affected population begins to seek access, or to solidify claims, to land resources. The more effective the reestablishment of ownership, use, and access rights, the smoother the transition to peace will be. In Colombia, for instance, GIZ supports the restitution of farm land to small-scale farmers.
farmers after the end of the armed conflict. If land tenure issues are not adequately addressed, the conflict can easily start afresh. In Nicaragua, the Contras rearmed during the peace process over misunderstandings about land access. And, after Mozambique’s RENAMO (Resistencia Nacional Moçambicana) war, the lack of legitimate land tenure dispute resolution aggravated the ongoing peace process.22

Improved equity: A change in tenure status from informal to formal can improve the social status of the individual, family or household. Also, a formalized tenure status often is a precondition to access state services and receive subsidies. The formalization process of informal settlements in Peru through massive land titling and registration has made informal urban dwellers feel that they finally have become formal urban dwellers. This has deeply affected the Peruvian urban mental landscape and bridged the gap between the formal and the informal city.23

Improvements to land and shelter: Increased tenure security provides certainty and incentives to the owner to invest in long-term land and shelter improvements.24 A current study on six informal neighbourhoods in Buenos Aires with different types of tenure and different levels of tenure security revealed that both legal tenure security and de facto security of tenure encourage investments in housing improvement, when they are perceived as high tenure security (i.e., the perceived probability of eviction is virtually zero).25

ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACTS

Soil conservation, reduced land degradation and deforestation: Secure land tenure rights for local communities can increase investment in long-term soil conservation26 and reduce environmental degradation and deforestation and thereby contribute to the adaptation and mitigation of climate change. Recent studies have observed that land formalisation in rural areas in Benin, Ethiopia, Mexico, Rwanda and Vietnam has led to increased investment in long-term soil conservation. Recognized indigenous and community forests rights are strongly associated with lower rates of deforestation and higher levels of carbon storage.27 Titling of indigenous communities in the Peruvian Amazon reduced deforestation by up to 81% in the year following titling. This demonstrates that titling can have immediate effects.28
Local land holding plans in Benin
Cambodia: BMZ/GIZ, the World Bank, Finland and Canada supported systematic land registration between 2002 and 2016. Under the program, around 4.2 million parcels were registered, 1.5 million families received titles (62% joint titles, 18% titles for women only, 20% titles for men only), 20 indigenous groups received group land titles, a new land policy and law were developed, out-of-court land conflict resolution mechanisms were established and 18,000 conflicts were solved.

Georgia: KfW, USAID, UNDP, World Bank, SIDA, EU, and BMZ/GIZ supported a modern land administration between 2000 and 2008. They surveyed about 3.5 million plots and incorporated them into one database. KfW equipped 52 regional property registration offices with hardware and software and trained and certified 420 surveying technicians and 180 registration experts. A significant number of land management experts participated in master programs in Munich and Stockholm. SIDA and WB supported access to the EU Spatial Information Initiative. Today, the National Agency of Property Registration provides efficient and transparent IT-based services following the national trend towards e-government. Real estate transactions have more than doubled from 2004 to 2012, real estate (primarily urban), previously not used as loan collateral at all, is increasingly utilized as such. Secured ownership rights and investment opportunities contribute to Georgia’s favourable ranking in the IFC “Doing Business” survey. In 2013, Georgia was ranked as the number one country where land can be registered in the fastest and most simple way. In addition, the geo database is also used for utility planning and taxation purposes.

Rwanda: DFID and other European donors supported systematic land tenure registration between 2009 and 2013. 11.4 million out of an estimated 11.5 million land parcels in the country were demarcated in a participatory way and at a unit cost of less than US$ 6 per parcel. 61% of the parcels have been registered to co-owners, 25% to female and 14% to male claimants. Land titling has improved land access for legally married women and better recordation of inheritance rights. It also had significant investment impacts in soil conservation, led to a marked improvement in land rental market functioning and associated efficiency land transfers, and has provided a basis for higher levels of agricultural investment in the medium and long term.

Ethiopia: The Ethiopian Government started the first stage of land use certification in 1998. To date, it has reached around 20 million parcels. Around 10.7 million certificates were issued to predominantly rural households. The second stage of land use certification, which included the georeferencing of parcels and creation of rural land cadastres, began in 2011. To date, 19.5 million parcels were surveyed and 11.5 million second level land certificates issued. A variety of international organizations and donors support this program, such as USAID, DFID, the World Bank, Finland, and recently GIZ.

Benin introduced the Rural Land Use Plan or Plan Foncier Rural (PFR) as a village cadastre system and main legal instrument for regularizing rural customary land tenure in 1993. With the support of MCC and KfW, 399 villages produced such a PFR registering 81,393 parcels with a total surface of 669,832 ha until 2015. Emerging impacts show that female-managed landholdings that received certificates were more likely to be left fallow, which is an important soil fertility investment. In 2016, a GIZ-implemented project started to support a new generation of PFR along with secondary rights registration through leases and other instruments.
**Challenges**

**Financial challenges / Costs of land registration:** Land registration implies significant costs. These include costs for training, improvement of the legal framework, mapping, surveying, public participation, adjudication and data management, data processing, updating and quality control. In addition to personnel costs, there can be tremendous investment costs for surveying equipment, satellite imagery or aerial photos, software, hardware, transport etc.

**Technical challenges:** With the digital transformation, new technologies arise that range from very low-tech solutions to sophisticated applications. Low-tech solutions are considerably cheaper but often result in much lower levels of accuracy. Depending on topography and vegetation, high-resolution satellite images are becoming increasingly competitive compared to traditional surveying. The challenge is to find the adequate level of accuracy needed and the technology that best fits the purpose.

**Management challenges:** Management capacities have to be built to steer the implementation of land registration. New approaches and procedures often imply new roles and responsibilities for people who may be perceived as having less influence or being less relevant. Such institutional change needs to be accompanied by change management measures focussing on the people who have to accept these new responsibilities.

**Solving asymmetrical conflicts** between powerful and rather poor and less influential parties will remain a challenge. There are many tools and approaches available to settle land disputes between more equal parties. However, resolving asymmetrical conflicts requires a high level of political commitment and decisiveness.

**Political challenges:** The most difficult challenge to overcome is the lack of political willingness, which is the prerequisite for any improvement concerning policies, legal framework, technical and procedural approaches and governance aspects such as transparency, accountability, equity, inclusiveness, participation, etc. Interventions to improve tenure rights for certain groups therefore have to be based on evidence, awareness-raising, advocacy, data protection, etc. to create a favourable political climate.

**Recommendations**

**Equal recognition and formalisation of the various forms of land rights:** All holders of legitimate tenure rights need to be recognized and their rights (whether individual, communal or collective; private or formal, indigenous or customary) need to be respected and safeguarded against threats and infringements. Rules should apply to secure rights for disadvantaged groups on a permanent basis. This includes agreements between owners and users for the use of natural resources that are tied to the land. Hence, securing land tenure rights for all goes beyond land registration. It requires the establishment of additional legal arrangements between owners and users (tenants, leaseholders etc.) to ensure that they equally benefit from legal security and long-term prospects.

**Improve awareness and acceptance:** Land titles or certificates alone are not sufficient to secure land rights. Responsible institutions and the population must also accept them. This requires changes in awareness and behaviour both on the part of the implementing authorities and among the target groups. Depending on the local context, even simple measures such as the translation of important parts of legal texts or international guidelines into local languages can be very effective in educating the population about their rights and duties. The implementing authorities and political decision-makers must be sensitised to the concerns of the target groups.

**Strengthen women’s rights:** Traditional systems do not always comply with human rights standards, especially with regard to women’s rights. Therefore, it is crucial to integrate protective measures into project design. It is important to promote the strengthening of women’s rights by informing and advising partners, target groups and traditional authorities. A particularly effective measure is to issue registration documents specifically for women or, where possible, for men and women together.

**Fit-for-purpose solutions:** Given the high demand for secure tenure rights, solutions need to be found that are fast and cost-efficient, but still deliver sufficient accuracy and security. Countries should not build complex and high-tech-based systems with lengthy procedures and high accuracies. Rather, systems should be simple and affordable to the population to ensure their long-term maintenance and financial self-sufficiency.
Local land disputes concerning property boundaries can often be resolved at local level as part of the registration process. Unresolved cases or cases that are more complex should be dealt with through mediation mechanisms.

Land administration (creating tenure security) should be linked to land management (i.e., defining land uses through participatory land use planning). This will help steer the overall physical development of a country. Land administration and land management should be based on a responsible land policy that has been developed in a participatory, inclusive process. Establishing the legal and institutional framework will ensure long-term equity, inclusiveness, transparency, participation, and accountability.

Putting land rights into value: This helps beneficiaries to immediately benefit from land tenure security. This includes the support of more private and public investments in registered areas, access to micro-credits for farmers, and access to agricultural inputs and extension services for registered households.

Integrate land rights formalization into other interventions: As systematic land registration takes time, securing land tenure rights can also be integrated into other project interventions. For instance, tenure-sensitive land use planning might be a precondition for successful soil regeneration or the construction of refugee camps. Secure community tenure might also increase the sustainability of reforestation. Lastly, land regularization can pursue a do-no-harm strategy, when securing land rights of vulnerable people avoids land conflicts or evictions.
2 Lemmen, Christiaan (2010): The Social Tenure Domain Model.
4 World Development Indicators, https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.URB.GROW


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