“LAND CHALLENGES IN EXPANDING SUB-SAHARAN AFRICAN CITIES. WHAT POLICY MAKERS NEED TO BEAR IN MIND WHEN DEALING WITH RAPID RURAL-URBAN LAND USE CONVERSION”

July 17, 2018

Alain Durand-Lasserve, Sina Schlimmer, Harris Selod and Oumar Sylla

(WORKING PAPER)

1. Objectives of the background paper and discussion

This background paper aims to provide material for discussion for the July 26, 2018 webinar that GLTN is organizing to discuss land challenges in expanding sub-Saharan African cities in the current context of accelerated urbanization and massive rural-urban land use conversion.

It is based on a stock-taking exercise of the key land challenges sub-Saharan cities are faced with in view of their urban long-term population growth prospects. The paper lays the groundwork for a broader study of the challenges regarding land dynamics within the rural-urban nexus, providing a systematic analytical framework to be used by governments, experts and international funding organisations.

Emphasis is put on the nexus between (i) land delivery processes, (ii) land tenure dynamics, and (iii) the role of various stakeholders and institutions involved in land use conversion at the frontier between urban and rural areas, i.e., peri-urban areas, which encompass:
- the suburban areas surrounding densely urbanized areas, where land is being predominately used for residential, commercial and industrial development/activities, and for related infrastructure;
- the rural-urban fringes surrounding suburban areas, where agricultural activities are being phased out under the pressure and anticipation of urbanization; and
- the rural hinterland of cities surrounding urban fringes, where changes in land use are not always visible, but where land transactions and land tenure conversions are done mainly under the control of urban-based actors / investors and where land values are still higher than in other rural areas.

Each of these areas can be characterized along the following dimensions: distance from a city center, density of infrastructure networks, population density, land use, land tenure, land delivery processes at work, land markets, and land values.

The main objectives of this background paper and discussion are:
(i) **to identify and assess the challenges posed by urbanization** over the next three decades as sub-Saharan African countries will have to cope with an unprecedented increase in the urban population that will result in a sharp and sustained increase in the demand for land for housing (e.g., there will be a need to house more than 750 million additional people in sub-Saharan African cities by 2050) and with the provision of services and infrastructures required for economic activities and job creation.

(ii) **to define variables helping to understand the processes of land appropriation, land acquisition, land transactions, and land tenure conversion that accompany the spatial expansion of cities in the region** (with a particular focus on understanding the underlying factors governing the conversion of rural and agricultural land into urban residential land).

(iii) **to suggest policy orientations to address or mitigate the impact of inequitable and inefficient land conversion processes**, which currently lead to economic exclusion, suboptimal spatial structures, land disputes and conflicts, and are exacerbated by weak urban management and weak land governance.

(iv) and, more generally, **to lay the groundwork for a broader study providing sub-Saharan African governments, experts, development aid agencies and international finance institutions with a systemic analytical framework that can account for the process of land use conversion that occurs under urban expansion and that can be applied for assessments needed to guide the design of land sector interventions.**

The framework will provide insights needed to:

- address **housing needs**, taking into account the scale and pace of urban growth;
- preserve **agricultural potential** in the rural hinterland of cities;
- improve **inclusiveness, fairness and efficiency** in the land conversion process at work, so as to support investment and poverty eradication.

### 2. Geographic and thematic scope of the study

#### 2.1. Continuum in land tenure, land tenure regimes, and legality of occupation

This background paper focuses on peri-urban areas, including the rural hinterland of cities. These areas are not separate from cities or from rural areas: there are no boundaries between urban land and rural land with regard to land tenure systems or land markets and land delivery processes, but rather a **continuum characterised by a progressive transformation of the rural context into the urban one**. The continuum exists over several dimensions:

- A continuum of **land tenure** (defined as the set of rights that a person, private or public, can hold over land) observed over space but also over time;
- A continuum of **land systems** (defined as the rules governing access to land, its use and management by different groups and individuals). At the two extremes of the continuum, this encompasses the customary system and the formal statutory system;

- A continuum in the **legal status of occupancy** of the land, from the most illegal / informal occupation (e.g., squatters occupying land unsuitable for urbanization) to the more legal / formal occupation (e.g., property guaranteed by a duly registered title or deed or a lease). The legal and occupancy status (e.g., from irregular to regular) can change over time and the change can be rapid (in the case of systematic recording programs) or incremental. In the latter case, it spreads over a long period of time (e.g., starting with the recognition of de facto occupation by the allocation of a temporary permit to occupy, which can later evolve into a real right, if the interested parties demand it, if they can afford the cost and if the administration can meet the demand).

The transformation of these hybrid zones will require special attention by experts and policymakers in the coming years in order to achieve public support and social legitimacy through the design of **policies that are cognizant of the urbanization and land use conversion context**. Land tenure should be considered and addressed both as a social relationship influenced by cultural traditions and social values as well as an economic asset. Understanding the mechanisms driving these major changes are key to designing policies that are not disconnected from the reality on the ground.

**Land use and land tenure dynamics** must be analysed in a **historical perspective and prospective manner**, covering the years from the 1980s, when market liberalization was introduced, to 2050, two decades from now into the future. Particular attention shall be given to (i) the identification of the mechanisms involved in changing land use and land tenure, (ii) the sets of factors affecting these changes, and (iii) the changes within the economic and social functions of urban and rural land from the perspective of the different stakeholders involved in these processes.

### 2.2. Countries and cities covered by the analysis

The study will cover sub-Saharan African (SSA) countries, who nearly all have a **Torrens system of rights delivery and registration**. This includes both countries whose legal framework stems from a "civil code" (in the case of French-speaking and Portuguese-speaking SSA countries) as well as those whose legal framework is based in common law (in the case of English speaking countries).

The study will focus on a limited number of **country case studies** (i) where land tenure issues are sufficiently documented, but (ii) are nevertheless representative of types of situations encountered in SSA, and (iii) where the dynamics of land use and land tenure conversions call for urgent responses.

The urban areas covered in the analysis will include mainly capital cities and their rural fringes, with a secondary focus on small and medium-size cities.
Before presenting the **methodology, which will be used for the future study** (Section 6), it is necessary to set the stage by first describing the **trends observed** in the region (Section 3), presenting the **past and current policy responses** dealing with the conversion of rural land into urban land (Section 4), and to describe the main elements of the tenure dynamics in peri-urban areas (Section 5). We will then introduce **key questions for the debate** regarding urban and peri-urban land issues in the SSA context (Section 5).

### 3. Urban population growth and the conversion of rural land into urban land: observations and trends

#### 3.1. Past trends of urban population growth: anticipation vs. reality

The challenge of future population growth in SSA cities has been raised for at least two decades. Key elements, however, have not been properly assessed, resulting in an **underestimation of the anticipated consequences of urban population growth on the demand for land**. These poorly assessed elements include (i) and underestimation of the scale and pace of urban growth in SSA cities (possibly reflecting an underestimation of **climatic shocks** and **conflicts** fuelling migration to cities), (ii) an overestimation of the **economic benefits of urban agglomeration** and of the social impact of GDP growth (especially in the absence of redistribution policies), and (iii) an overestimation of the opportunities for change offered by the long-expected **development of an urban middle class**.

**Stylized facts** associated with urban population growth in SSA over the past decades show (i) **a growing imbalance between the supply and demand for land**, (ii) **a deterioration of affordability** (as more than half of urban households cannot access housing through formal public and private land delivery channels), (iii) **a decline of peri-urban customary tenure systems** as a response to increased demand for urban land, and (iv) **a massive appropriation of peri-urban land**, mostly by middle- and upper-income groups.

#### 3.2. Future trends of urban population growth: towards an urbanization crisis?

Because of a late demographic transition and because most SSA countries are still at the beginning of a process of urbanization, **the demand for urban land will massively increase** in the coming decades.

In 2014, SSA had an estimated total population of 925 million people, of which 37% or 346 million lived in urban areas. This figure is projected to increase to 2.04 billion inhabitants in 2050, of which an estimated 55%, or 1.137 billion, will be urbanized. This means that over the next 35 years, cities in sub-Saharan Africa will have to accommodate an additional population of more than 790 million people. This is more than the total urban population of the 28 countries of the European Union, the United States, Canada and Mexico (774 million people in 2016).
SSA cities are not prepared to accommodate these unprecedented population increases. This will have to be done in addition to improving the living conditions of 60% of the population of these cities who currently remain in under-serviced informal settlements, without tenure security. Despite the implementation of tenure regularisation programmes, the proportion of urban households living in informal settlements has only slightly declined in recent decades.

3.3. Urban expansion, land use conversion and economic and social consequences

- Urban expansion and land tenure changes

Urban population increases and urban expansion affect the land system in several ways. In SSA cities, key features are (i) urban expansion fuelling informality (slums/irregular occupancy), (ii) the progressive erosion of the customary system due to the commodification of land, and (ii) the reconfiguration of land structures (through both fragmentation and consolidation) and land use (with the conversion of agricultural land into residential land).

For decades, customary landholders have been the main providers of land for housing for low-income groups in the periphery of cities. Customary land has increasingly - and more or less informally - been subdivided into small plots and sold to low-income households, a process tolerated by governments because of its social benefits (although often not authorized in legislations). Customary land reserves are now being progressively exhausted. They are still available in the outer periphery of cities – thus encouraging urban sprawl and reducing the potential of peri-urban agriculture – while formal provision of land for housing by the public and private sectors remain unaffordable to the vast majority of urban households.

- Urban expansion and land appropriation

A phenomenon of massive land appropriation is currently taking place in the peri-urban areas and the rural hinterland of cities, mostly to the benefit of middle- and upper-income groups and those with social influence (see Box 1). Peri-urban land is purchased by investors and land developers and, in certain regions increasingly by housing developers. It can also be acquired and pre-empted by the state either for housing projects targeted towards for medium and high income groups. The phenomenon goes hand in hand with intense land speculation accompanied by sharp increases in land values.

Box 1 - Land transactions in the peripheries of SSA cities: Who are the land-buyers?

Over the last decade, land deals in Africa have been increasing. Whereas scholars, experts, non-profit organizations and policy-makers have been dealing with large-scale land acquisitions in rural areas by (foreign) investors, less attention has been paid to the increasing number of land transactions in peri-urban areas, driven by national and local stakeholders.

---

1 In urban and peri-urban areas in SSA, one can observe a moderate decrease in percentage of the population living in slums, but an increase in absolute terms.
Peri-urban land markets however, are the most dynamic in Africa, characterized by a lack of regulation and prevalence of informal practices. This growing interest in rural land in the outskirts of metropolitan cities (such as Nairobi) is due to an increasing demand of urban residents looking for housing and investment opportunities, especially in the absence of other savings opportunities.

According to specialists, land buyers mostly belong to administrative, political and economic elites of the countries and are part of a so-called “middle-class”. In fact, land deals in peri-urban areas contribute to personal enrichment, reflect investment strategies and lead to social stratification. According to recent studies on the growing land-markets in the rural fringes of Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi, peri-urban land transactions represent a privileged investment activity for individuals transcending income classes. Whereas in Tanzania, land buyers are involved in employment sectors such as business, politics, and academia, the Kenyan case depicts a more complex picture. Whereas much of the peri-urban land is still acquired by members of the political and the economic elite, in some countries, lower income groups (motorcycle taxi drivers, shopkeepers, vendors, informal sector workers) also get access to land in peri-urban areas by joining cooperatives and saving groups. As soon as these land buyers have saved a sufficient amount of money, these sums are invested in another land purchase. Land speculation is one of the driving factors of these investment activities.

Land appropriation in peri-urban areas is exacerbated by (i) the vulnerability of customary holders to land market pressures (e.g., because of distressed sales to avoid possible takings of valuable land), (ii) tenure insecurity given the absence of or limited recognition of customary land tenure by public authorities and other stakeholders and the lack of reliable land information systems, and (iii) asymmetry in access to information between customary communities and urban-based land buyers and investors.

- **Inequitable land markets**

The development of land markets, although potentially leading to better land use allocation, is in fact not a level playing field.

In a context of unclear property rights, a key problem is the high prevalence of multiple sales and multiple certification of land plots, leading to conflicts (land disputes are widespread and account for 70% to 80% of litigation cases brought before the courts).

Another issue is the decreasing affordability of land for a large fraction of households. Access to land for low incomes in urban and peri-urban areas of SSA has indeed worsened over the last decades, mainly under the joint effects of: (i) the squandering of potential public land reserves for the benefit of the states’ land clienteles; (ii) an accelerated commodification of land at the expense of those without an income source; (iii) a spiralling increase in the price of land in urban and peri-urban areas under the joint pressure of increased demand for land and the scarcity of available land, corruption in land administration and speculative strategies which withdraw land from the market; (iv) weaknesses of land governance and the limited capacities of governments regulatory/intervention capacities at central and local levels in the land sector, which further increased the cost of access to land. High land prices
in turn encouraged peri-urban spatial expansion by shifting demand towards distant areas where the price of land is lower.

Because of bargaining asymmetries, rural landholders are not paid a fair price for compensations when transferring their land to developers (various forms of public / private partnership for development and construction projects exist within the SSA region). In all these cases, the price or the compensation paid to the rural landholders is much lower than the value that the land will have on the market after the conversion to urban use.

To sum up, the dynamics at work tend to exclude the poorest from secure access to land:

- If the current dynamics at play regarding land delivery, land conversions, land markets, and land governance continue, with no measures to make secure land available in the periphery of SSA cities to accommodate low income groups, a large part of the urban population will continue to be excluded from access to land for housing.
- Asymmetry in access to power and information will continue to make access to secure land unaffordable to the low-incomes.
- The dynamics of land use and land tenure transformation which exclude the poor (e.g., loss of agricultural asset for customary owners following unequally-implemented land subdivision) can increase poverty and compromise poverty alleviation programs.
- Access to land increasingly resembles a poverty trap: because of unaffordable prices, households who overspend on land and housing cannot make other investments (including in human capital) leading to irreversible social exclusion.
- Unaffordable prices of land under secure tenure options are massively pushing the poor into tenure insecurity. This issue can be seen as one of the major problems African cities and policy makers will have to address it in the coming decades.

4. A brief review of past and current policy responses

Decisions makers at national level and international expertise have usually considered that technical and political solutions would be found to the problems of access to land induced by rapid urbanisation, to reduce the negative impact of:

- urban sprawl (through planning tools, taxation, and provision of infrastructure);
- affordability to the low-income groups through economic development and redistribution of wealth; and
- land disputes.

4.1. Preliminary observations of the (non-)responses of public authorities

- Land supply required to satisfy the demand for urban growth is usually underestimated by national governments as well as by aid and development agencies.
- Over the last three decades, many attempts have been made to combine preventive and curative answers, mostly through policies, projects and programmes implemented at local and settlement levels.

- However, there have been limited achievements to make these initiatives replicable (with few exceptions, failure of “scaling up”).

- Official planning and housing standards often reflect aspirations rather than realities, imposing costs which many cannot afford and thereby perpetuating the unauthorised developments governments seek to prevent.

- Physical planning and regulatory frameworks reflect aspirations more than realities and master plans—when they exist—are frequently imposed on African cities without due consideration of local contexts and of the social and economic functions of urban and peri-urban land.

- Affordability: over the last three decades, limited achievements have been made in terms of housing condition improvements for the urban poor through (i) tenure formalization and provision of services in informal settlements and (ii) provision of serviced land and housing affordable to the low-incomes. So-called “social housing programs”, however, have only targeted a small number of households belonging to the upper middle income group.

- Political leaders and government officers exert their control over governance and land administration, which is characterized by limited capacity and widespread corruption.
  - National and local governments have limited latitude to address the underlying drivers of land use and land tenure dynamics in urban / metropolitan regions (see the below figure). Their interventions are potentially limited to governance issues, national economic and investment policies in the urban and agricultural sectors.
  - However, local government and state officials and employees use to interfere massively in the land sector for their own benefits taking advantage of their own position within the land sector. This results in the allocation of land from the state’s land reserves at below-market prices.
  - The key issue of corruption within land administration is regularly mentioned but rarely addressed.
  - Persistent difficulties in financing the demographic and spatial growth of cities
    * Weakness of local finance
    * Insufficient taxation: built and unbuilt land, taxes on capital gains, recovery of capital gains from urbanization
    * Poor recovery of development and urban infrastructures costs
  - The growing number of land transactions carried out by formal and informal land developers and brokers leads to land subdivision and smaller sizes of land plots. The lack of regulation of land-subdivision and planning raises the question of land use changes and the access to land by local community groups.

- Urban renewal programmes commonly result in the relocation of low-income groups to the urban periphery where they develop unauthorised settlements with limited access to services and employment locations.
4.2. Conventional answers of decision-makers

- Integration/eradication of customary practices;
- Formalization/regularisation of informal settlements;
- Provision of services and infrastructure;
- Site and services;
- Trunk infrastructure grid.

**Tools:**
- Setting up of cadastre & LIS;
- Strategy planning;
- Modernization of land registration and allocation procedures (i.e.: administrative simplifications, one-stop-shop).

There is a diversity of objectives of home ownership policies, from the fight against poverty to the promotion of private investments. These objectives can contradict one another;

**On the one hand, social integration**
* (i) By the homeownership of the occupants of informal settlements; and
* (ii) Economic development induced by investment (which itself depends on the allocation of real property rights and the registration of land titles).

**On the other hand, exclusion of the poorest from access to the ground due to**
* (i) Market mechanisms (commodification or increasing cost of informal access to land, price increase in regularized neighbourhoods in urban areas with good localization, which may be detrimental to renters);
* (ii) Financialization and increasing volatility of land and property markets;
* (iii) The widening gap between prevailing land prices (and therefore housing prices) and average household incomes (overall, long-term decline in the "purchasing power of housing" observed in all major cities in the North and South).

4.3. Innovative responses by public authorities and other stakeholders

- Participatory processes

- Innovative incremental LIS (including « Fit for the purpose » & STDM)

- Useful tools but mainly targeted toward systematic land titling and registration and the delivery of individual property rights

- Guided land development

- Land readjustment, land pooling

- Transferable development rights
- Access to information and new technologies of information and communication: the technology biases

- Adaptation of customary practices

4.4. The technological bias

- NICTs and the progress made in spatial analysis, topographic surveys and information processing have led many officials to engage in setting up cadastres and other SIFs in Considering the difficulties associated with (i) upstream legal recognition of the non-statutory forms of land tenure, including customary forms of possession, (ii) downstream of the question of updating data on land ownership, and (iii) at all stages of the chain, weak land governance and the weight of corruption in land administration.

- The technical responses thus focus on a limited number of steps in the land administration and management process, to the detriment of approaches to improving land policies such as integrating informal/irregular settlements through the regularization of occupations and land use; equipment of informal settlements; town planning & planning; property taxation; management in the duration of the land information.

Technological innovation can provide a major contribution, but is no substitute for addressing the social, technical, economic and political aspects. How can these issues be addressed? Example: The blockchain technology is increasingly mentioned as having the potential to improve/ensure land administration by focusing on the reliability of the transmission of tamper-proof data. In the context of African countries, it can only be successful if the crucial questions of (i) their production, (ii) their reliability and (iii) their authentication are addressed beforehand.

5. Understanding the dynamics at work in changes affecting tenure in urban and peri-urban areas in SSA

There is a lack of knowledge of the land sector, and vested interests in the status quo constrain land policy choices and the potential contribution of private and civil society sectors.

5.1. Factors that impact land use and land tenure dynamics

This issue deserves particular attention in order to:

- anticipate changes affecting land tenure, land transactions, and land values in urban and peri-urban land;
- identify the factors on which national governments and local authorities can intervene; and
- contribute to determine land policies and strategies that can minimize discriminatory and exclusion processes regarding access to land for housing.
5.2. Need to re-assess the economic and social functions of peri-urban land in the context of sub-Saharan African countries

Land is (i) a production factor (agricultural, industrial, commercial, residential, services and equipment); (ii) an inflation-proof savings investment (household savings); (iii) a preferred asset for speculation; (iv) a fast and easy way to access mortgage credit required for commercial activities in other sectors or additional speculative investments in land; (v) a powerful means of political patronage.

Accelerated commodification processes are being observed in all peri-urban areas and in the rural hinterland of cities, making land a transferable asset between individuals, which may help with land use allocation efficiency through mutually-improving transfers but at the same time weakens customary tenure.

Land in peri-urban areas has several functions:

- **Production support (agricultural and non-agricultural);**

- **Essential component for the production of the habitat**

  Unlike the other components (labor factor, capital factor, ...) land is a scarce resource that cannot be "produced".

- **"Catch basin" of idle monetary assets and households’ savings**

  Especially in the countries,
  * which do not have drainage systems of small savings or insufficient remuneration of it and
* which do not have social protection systems or pension funds.
Investments in land are considered as inflation-proof (at least over the medium and long term).

- Means of access to credit, if certain legal conditions are fulfilled (allocation of real rights on land)
  * At the corporate level in general: an asset likely to play an important role in business investment strategies.
  * For urban households: access to mortgage credit (especially for the purchase of housing).
  * For farmer-owners in rural areas: access to mortgage credit to improve productivity (cover the costs of equipment, land consolidation, etc.).

- For governments land allocation is a powerful means of social control
  * Retribution of political clienteles, especially when the state is the master of the soil (Sub-Saharan Africa)
  * Pacification of social relations
  * But also, put under control of groups or communities (foreigners, communities considered hostile to the power in place). The threat of eviction calms the inclinations of revolt.

5.3. Critical analysis of land governance, land management and land administration

- Central role of corruption in land administration: a self-sustaining system (need to go beyond the analytical framework of the paper presented on this theme at the WBCLP in 2015).
- How corruption in land administration makes it possible to appropriate the land rent?
- Analysis of its various dimensions, functioning, perpetuation and consequences on land governance and its macroeconomic impacts.

For these reasons, it is critical to identify the functioning of land markets and the social function of land in the context of rapid urbanization.

A key challenge is therefore to understand why more has not been done during the last 35 years, to address and resolve these issues, especially as the effects of climate change are being increasingly felt throughout the region and callusing mass migration within and between countries. It is increasingly clear that the social, economic, political and environmental costs, in the medium and long term, of a loss of control of land use processes in cities and their peripheries will be unprecedented.

5.4. Challenges raised by the massive conversion of rural land into urban land, for housing, infrastructure and economic activities.

- Adoption of planning, legal and regulatory measures in order to address low density development and uncoordinated spatial expansion of cities.
- Limited capacity of the public sectors to facilitate supply land at scale for urban development.

- Measures and policies aimed at: (i) improving security of tenure for all, including in the rental sector; (ii) providing serviced plots for housing; (iii) promoting social housing programs; and (iv) regulating land transactions.

- Structures and procedures of land management that are not appropriate to the challenges:
  * Legal pluralism and diversity of tenure systems
  * Weaknesses of land governance, management
  * Limited capacities of administrative institutions and stakeholders involved in the land sector
  * Limited achievements of tenure formalization programmes

- Growing land markets and more or less informal land transactions in the peri-urban areas/rural peripheries of the metropolitan cities, which complicate land governance:
  * Speculation on land, which becomes an increasingly attractive activity (need for a better understanding of the role of intermediary stakeholders, such as land brokers)
  * Multiple sales of land plots resulting in land conflicts

- Difficulties or blockages - often presented as technical or legal - rights recognition policies in informal / irregular / illegal neighbourhoods.

- Change of the land management system adversely affect the viability and social legitimacy of customary land tenure system while statutory land supply options do not adequately reflect the priorities and resources of those in need.

- Lack of land information systems and persistent asymmetry in access to information contribute to make secure access to land increasingly unaffordable.

### 6. Methodology

#### 6.1. A systemic focus to analyze land delivery systems and conversion of rural and agricultural land into urban land

A systemic approach is crucial as most land market studies analyse separately (i) informal and customary land markets, considered as temporary forms of possession that will necessarily evolve into formal property rights; and (ii) the formal market, authenticated by an act or title and guaranteed by the state. In doing so, (i) they often ignore the driving role of the property price differential in the functioning and dynamics of the land markets; (ii) they overlook the diversity of tenure situations between the two extremities of the continuum; and (iii) they underestimate the interactions between different market segments.
6.2. Sources

We will rely on documentary analyses (academic papers as well as sectoral diagnoses such as the Land Governance Assessment Framework), extraction of national level data possibly complemented by satellite imagery analysis, and provide a systemic and dynamic analysis of land use and land tenure conversions in the wake of Durand-Lasserve et al. (2015).

The paper presented during the webinar at the end of July will draw on different types of sources:

- Syntheses of existing prospective studies on urbanization in SSA;
- Land market studies;
- Studies carried out in SSA countries by the World Bank on (i) the urban sector and (ii) the land sector (land markets and land tenure situations);
- Key results of academic and multidisciplinary research (from economics, geography, sociology, etc.) on (peri-)urban land dynamics in SSA;
- Documents / analyses of changes that have affected the legal and regulatory frameworks, land administration and land management at the regional, national and local (urban & peri-urban) levels;
- Demographic and prospective data in the medium and long term (from national sources (censuses) and international sources (UNStat);
- Syntheses of the recent works of UN-Habitat / GLTN on urban and peri-urban land;
- Identification of initiatives addressing the theme of "urban land / rural land" presented during the last World Bank Land and Poverty Conferences;
- Possible contribution of members of the Research & Training Cluster of GLTN;
- Land Governance Assessment Frameworks (LGAFs).

7. Key questions for a debate

The discussed issues need an urgent and substantial response. How can this be accepted, promoted and activated? Responses to date have not been based on an objective assessment of needs and resources. What evidence or arguments are needed to convince policymakers of the need for change?

Technological innovation can provide a major contribution, but is no substitute for addressing the social, technical, economic and political aspects. How can these issues be addressed?

Five key questions.

Q 1: How to accommodate the need for land, housing and services for the anticipated additional urban population over the coming decades?
Emergency for the countries that will have the most important needs (Sahelian zone but also Middle Africa).

How to stop the dilapidation of public land reserves through land allocation by the State and local authorities?

**Q 2:** How to integrate this objective into spatial and strategic urban development plans within existing resource and institutional constraints.

**Q 3:** How can urban and peri-urban land markets be facilitated in ways that promote investment but generate a public benefit?

**Q 4:** How to ensure the recognition and possible adaptation of customary and popular land rights and practices (tenure formalisation)?

**Q 5:** How to improve land governance and limit corruption in land administration to protect vulnerable groups?

### Selected references


UN-Habitat: *State of African Cities 2010 , Governance, Inequalities and Urban Land Markets*


**About the Authors**

**Alain Durand-Lasserve** is a Senior Research Fellow at the *Centre National de la Recherche*
Scientifique (CNRS), France. He is currently Associate Researcher in the Laboratory Les Afriques dans le Monde (LAM), a joint research centre of the University of Bordeaux, the CNRS and the National Foundation for Political Sciences, France. His personal research topics are: methodological frameworks to analysing land and tenure situations and dynamics; land markets and land delivery systems in cities in developing countries; urban land management impacts of land and tenure on urban development dynamics and spatial expansion of cities; tenure security policies for the urban poor; tenure regularisation and land titling in urban and peri-urban areas.

During the past two decades, he has been mainly involved in research and consultancy in sub-Saharan African countries on land and tenure issues and policies, for various bilateral development agencies, for the UN and for the World Bank.

Geoffrey Payne (MSc, Dip.Arch. MRTPI, FRSA) is an urban development and housing consultant with more than four decades international experience. In addition to extensive academic experience, he has undertaken numerous research and consultancy assignments for international agencies including UN-Habitat, the World Bank and UK government. He has contributed to many international conferences and published widely. Recent publications include:


Sina Schlimmer is a postdoctoral fellow dealing with land policies at Sciences Po Bordeaux/Les Afriques dans le Monde where she coordinates a research program on public policy analysis in Africa (FAPPA). In her PhD thesis, she has looked into the complex negotiation processes characterizing large-scale agricultural land investment projects in Tanzania. She thereby identified and analysed the multiple intersections between the formulation and implementation of land policies and state-building processes. Her current research activities still focus on the processes, stakeholders and interests shaping land transactions but they rather address land market dynamics in peri-urban areas. The aim is to understand land investment activities at work in the outskirts of Dar es Salaam (Tanzania) and Nairobi (Kenya) by scrutinizing their impacts on land access and land use in the rural fringes of metropolitan cities.

Harris Selod
To be completed by Harris