EVALUATING IMPACTS OF URBAN LAND TITLING: RESULTS AND IMPLICATIONS: PRELIMINARY FINDINGS

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This paper contains a preliminary summary of key issues and findings from a desk review of the literature on land titling projects and programmes in urban and peri-urban areas of developing countries. It draws on a large number of documents, not all of which have been incorporated into the review at the time of writing. The present bibliography will be expanded in the final text of the review which is to be completed by early December 2006.

1. CONTEXT OF THE IMPACT ASSESSMENT

1.1. This paper presents some of the preliminary results of a desk review of the “Social and economic impacts of land titling in urban and peri-urban areas”. The desk review represents Stage 1 of what is envisaged as a larger project. This will involve original surveys and analysis of case studies which will be selected on the basis of material obtained and evaluated during the desk review.

1.2. The term “land title” has different meanings in different countries, from full individual freehold to occupancy licenses and even customary and group forms of title. Our review has adopted an inclusive approach, with a focus on real rights (freehold/ownership titles, superficies rights, long-term registered leaseholds) awarded to individual households rather than to groups or communities. Real rights can be transferred, inherited and mortgaged. It does not include rights such as permits to occupy and various forms of occupancy right.

1.3. Land titling refers to delivery process of real rights to occupants of land or property: squatters on public or private land, occupants in informal commercial land development, personal rights holders (administrative, conditional and revocable permits to occupy), customary rights holders.

1.4. Titling programmes can be either sporadic (carried out at the scale of one or several settlements, or at the request of individual occupants) or systematic (implemented citywide or nationwide), with the objective to cover an entire area.

1.5. Most titling programmes have been designed for – and implemented in – rural areas although many have an urban component. In urban areas, titling programmes are frequently inspired by previous experiences of rural programmes, or are seen as an extension of nationwide land titling programmes. Yet, titling in urban areas is not simply an adaptation of titling in rural areas. The economic and social functions of land are different in urban areas and rural areas (land as an asset, role of land in development strategies of the private sector, land as an inflation-proof area of investment for savings, land as a catchments area for idle funds, …)

1.6. Whereas relatively few urban land titling programmes have been fully implemented in urban areas in DCs, many slum-upgrading projects have been accompanied by the delivery of real titles to occupants, with the objective to provide security of tenure. This
makes it possible to assess some of the impacts of land titling, though rarely at the scale of a citywide programme.

1.7. In this context, the desk review does not focus exclusively on programmes, but also includes projects—especially tenure regularisation projects—in some particular conditions of objectives (not an isolated project, but pilot projects prior to the implementation of bigger projects, or even citywide or nationwide programme), size (not limited to one settlement, but implemented at the scale of several settlements), components (providing secure tenure through the delivery of real rights), date of implementation and completion, and output (effective delivery of real rights).

1.8 The independent empirical evidence on the social and economic impacts of titling programmes in urban and peri-urban areas is limited, especially in view of the attention titling has generated.

2. CONTEXTUAL FRAMEWORK OF TITLING

2.1. Objectives and components of land titling: land titling can be an objective as such. It is usually justified by the same set of arguments. It can also form part of a broader land law reform (implementation of new land code or land law); of land administration reform (improvement and modernisation of cadastre, property registration).

In many cases, it is one of the components of informal settlements upgrading programmes or projects, along with physical improvements, the provision of services and other interventions at social and economic levels.

2.2. The objectives of titling programmes have changed due to the influence of Hds during the last decade. Many titling projects or programmes during the 1980s and 90s had diverse objectives. For example, many tenure regularization projects or programmes with a significant titling component have been or are being carried out—sometimes successfully—in developing cities during the last two decades (Senegal, Brazil, Mexico, Tunisia, India…). More recent examples—especially in urban areas—are justified in terms of the arguments from Hds/ILD literature. For de Soto, the formalisation of rights in housing and other assets is grounded on a set of assumptions that titles constitute an essential component for poverty eradication in developing countries. Property has to be transformed into collateral, collateral into credit and credit into income.

2.3. The influence of the property rights approach in donor (and developing country) thinking on land policy and administration appears to have become hegemonic. For more than a decade, leading international finance institutions & several bilateral co-operations agencies have promoted and supported titling programmes in rural and urban areas.

2.4. Few titling programmes have actually been completed. In DCs, preliminary identification of case studies confirms that completed titling programmes are very limited. In urban and peri-urban areas, programmes in progress are frequently encountering considerable implementation delays. Most cases to which ILD refer to are mere intentions, or are still in their early stages (data collection and feasibility study): Tanzania. Others have been abandoned (Egypt). The only one carried out at large scale and that we can consider as completed is that in Peru.
3. OBJECTIVES AND SCOPE OF THE PROJECT

3.1. The objective of the project is to evaluate the social and economic impact of titling projects and programmes. In other terms, evaluate the adequacy between the stated objectives of land titling and the observed actual outputs and impacts.

3.2. The project is limited to titling programmes and projects in urban and peri-urban areas in developing countries. The impact of titling in ‘countries in transition’ (shift from public property of land to private property, land administration reform) has not been included in the desk review, though rather similar implementation constraints and impacts may be found in developing countries and in countries in transition.

3.3. Our inventory of titling programmes and projects and on-going desk review cover four types of titling projects / programmes:
   a) Completed
   b) In progress
   c) Started but cancelled or suspended
   d) Proposed / contemplated

Social and economic impact of land titling are being assessed in situations (a) and (b), particular attention being given to situation (a).

Impacts of titling are being assessed even when the programme is still in progress (b), or when it has been launched and later abandoned (c): the mere expectation or announcement of a titling project have an impact on land prices and accordingly on land markets in the informal sector.

In situations (c) and (d), the desk review is aiming to collect basic information, identify feasibility studies that justify the programme, as well as any document that identifies obstacles and difficulties encountered or anticipated in the programme implementation (programme delayed or cancelled).

3.4. A key objective of the desk review is to assess any evidential gaps which need to be filled by additional research in order to provide a sound basis for tenure policy and the application of titling or other tenure options.

4. SOURCES

4.1. Urban land titling projects or programmes at various stages of implementation (from completed to being planned) have been identified in 35 developing or transition countries.

4.2. Although few titling programmes have been fully implemented, there is an abundant literature about titling:
   Theoretical framework, justification and critics of titling,
   Methodology studies
   Feasibility studies prior to titling implementation,
   Progress reports on ongoing titling programme or projects (implementation issues, problems encountered)
   Empirical analysis of case studies
Empirical tests (adequacy between objectives and actual output)
Land titling-related methodological issues,
Assessment and evaluation of titling
Policy implications.

4.3. Yet, very few completed titling programmes have been independently assessed and evaluated.

5. OBJECTIVES OF LAND TITLING IN URBAN AREAS

1. Fighting poverty, empowering the poor (1,2,3);
2. Improving market efficiency (2, 3, 4, 5);
3. Improving land management and administration (4, 6, 7);
4. Improving urban planning, housing situation and access to services (8, 9, 10)

- Provide security of tenure for the urban poor (1)
- Enable the newly titled owners to use their property as collateral for obtaining formal credit to invest in businesses and home-based activities, and promote mortgage finance; (2)
- Stimulate and secure private investments (i.e. real estate, commercial and industrial investments); (3)
- Unify land markets and promote land and property markets; (4)
- Reduce transaction costs for property transfers; (5)
- Improve land administration; (6)
- Increase government revenues, through improved land and property taxation; (7)
- Encourage / promote home improvement and construction (8)
- Ensure better access to urban services (9)
- Contribute to the enforcement of planning decisions (10)

6. EVALUATING THE IMPACTS OF URBAN LAND TITLING

A brief review of what the literature says about some of the impacts of land titling, namely on:

6.1. Security of tenure

A clear distinction should be made between increasing tenure security (which does not necessarily require formal tenure regularization) and various forms of tenure formalisation, including those based on titling and access to individual land ownership.

Not surprisingly, studies show that titles do increase both legal and perceived security of tenure. The key question, however, is whether they are the most effective or the only means of achieving this. The literature suggests that in some circumstances other means may be as effective and easier to administer. However, there is insufficient evidence to enable firm conclusions to be drawn.

What this evidence also suggests, however, is that the lack of formal titles is a price which the urban poor pay to gain access to residential plots which they could otherwise not afford.
Surprisingly, de Soto’s type titling implemented (Peru), tentatively implemented (Egypt), being implemented (Dar es Salaam), contemplated (Benin), in urban contexts where households in informal settlements already enjoy(ed) rather sound security of tenure.

Documents covered by this review suggest that attention has focused excessively on the impact of titling on newly titled households and insufficiently on the social and economic impacts on other households such as tenants, women and other vulnerable groups. Over the last decade, focus on land titling as the most appropriate way for securing tenure have had a negative impact on the exploration of other options than titling for securing tenure security.

6.2. Access to credit

Access to formal mortgage credit via banks has not increased significantly in any case study reviewed. This does not confirm the observation made by Feder G. and A. Nishio (1998), that “there is convincing evidence from around the world that land registration has led to better access to formal credit, higher land values, higher investments in land, and higher output/income”.

So far, in the light of the existing observations and evaluations, it appears that, by creating a unified formal land market and providing property rights, titling programmes contribute to secure - and accordingly to encourage - private investments. However, there is no evidence that tenure formalisation through land titling has increased significantly access to mortgage credit for low-income households.

This suggests that the poor are as reluctant to borrow from banks, as the banks are to lend to the poor.
- Already micro-credit based on community organisations
- Cost of management of small credit too high compared with returns
- Even with a freehold title, household incomes are often too low for finance institutions to be interested in lending.
- Political risks (higher when strong community organisations)
- Low market price of mortgaged land (location inappropriate, yet location determines land value)
The efficiency gain of having collateral might be reduced significantly if the lender values the location – like a “slum” – much less than the current inhabitant (see Einsenbach 2003). The same argument is developed by Bromley (2005).

Detailed surveys in a suburb of Buenos Aires and in Peru reveal that access to formal credit from private banks did not increase significantly after titling programmes.

In India (Bhopal case study), it has not been possible for beneficiaries of registered leaseholds to mobilise institutional finance because plot and settlement conditions are not up to the prescribed standards for building permission, which is an eligibility condition for loans. This limits investment and in any case implies that house building can only happen unauthorisedly, unless upgraded settlements conform with existing building rules or the rules themselves are suitably amended.
In Mexico, the beneficiaries of legalization have little interest in formal credit, preferring loans from friends or relatives. Empirical studies in Mexico and other countries conclude similarly that the credit effect has not taken place in many countries where land titling programmes have been implemented.

The form of financial institution or lending programme have more influence than titles in accessing formal credit. Micro-credit institutions and pro-poor banks (eg the Grameen Bank) or tenure regularization programmes targeted to the urban poor (ex. the Baan Mankong Program™ in Thailand, implemented through the Community Organizations Development) are successful in lending to the poor but rarely demand titles as collateral.

Titles are often intended to permit individuals to gain access to official sources of credit—banks, credit unions, lending societies—using their new title as collateral for loans to start a business, upgrade a dwelling, or undertake investments. All of these outcomes are seen as means whereby the poor can help themselves without the need for grants and various anti-poverty programs from the international donor community, or even the aid of national governments.

6.3. Investment in property

Widely considered a key reason for giving land titles, evidence suggests titles have increased investment.

Focusing on the titling programme in Lima, which is the oldest and best documented titling programme, the published evidence so far suggests that receiving a property title increases housing renovation but that the bulk of housing renovation is financed without the use of credit. Similar observations are made in Mexico, Thailand and India.

Alternatives, even modest ones, have also realised similar outcomes, suggesting that titles may not be the only way of encouraging investment.

Other factors also apply and the ability of plots to conform to official norms may influence investment.

For investors, the benefits stem from a unified and better-functioning land market, improved access to land in regularised low-income settlements, especially in prime urban areas, and in better investment security.

6.4. Access to infrastructure and services

The evidence is mixed:
- In Colombia, access is available to all citizens who can pay for services irrespective of tenure status.
- In Peru, titling has not improved significantly access to services
- In Egypt, tenure status is unrelated to the provision of basic services
- In India, households with registered leaseholds showed better access to water and sanitation and individual electricity connections.

6.5. Labour mobility and employment
Unpublished evidence on labour market effects suggests that receiving a property title increases total household work hours, decreases the probability of working inside the home and the probability of child labour.

- In Peru, titles reduced the need to physically protect property, enabling households to work elsewhere and diversify their livelihoods.
- In South Africa, titling has displaced households whose properties are now subject to planning requirements preventing commercial activities in areas zoned for residential use.

More information is therefore needed to assess the wider impacts of titling on labour mobility.

6.6. Households incomes

Information on increases in incomes or economic status is scarce.
- In Peru, it is claimed that titled households were able to spend more time working away from their homes as they did not need to physically protect them. It is not reported if this resulted in increased net incomes (after travel times and costs are included).
- In Argentina, no evidence was found of increased incomes from titling programmes.

6.7. Land values and land markets

For Angel & Mayo (1993) “The registration of property rights in squatter settlements (…) is important in making land and house transactions possible and giving occupants legal protection. It encourages the buying and selling of housing and makes it possible for households to move to a dwelling that suits their needs and their budgets” (ibid, p. 73).

Studies show that a shift from insecure to more secure forms of tenure can raise returns both on land investments and on land values.

Empirical observations confirm that tenure formalisation, especially land titling, impacts on land prices. Increases in land prices are not limited to newly regularized settlements but on land markets and land values as a whole at city level, both in informal and formal markets (land delivery forms a systems: any change affecting one land delivery sub-system has an impact on other ones). This may induce new forms of segregation.

A few papers reviewed have assessed the impact of titling on property values. Formal land tenure does increase the market value of land, usually by at least 20 to 60%. Thus, it cannot be ruled out that titling programmes can have both positive effects (associated with the tenure security of titled households) and negative effects (resulting from the eviction of the poorest households from the housing market due to the rise in housing prices). To our knowledge, evaluations have unfortunately not sufficiently focused on the second effect.

The form of tenure under which land is held or owned has a significant impact on its market value and options for access by the urban poor. For example, in Jakarta, Dowall (1998) found that residential plots with clear title sold for a 45 percent premium over comparable plots without clear title and in Manila the risk of eviction is considered to lower the value of housing units by 25 percent (Dowall and Leaf, 1990; Dowall, 1998)
An empirical test in Ecuador noted that the unconditional effect of title is to raise properties’ value by 23.5%. However, we also find that informal property rights can substitute effectively for formal property rights.

The absence of legal titles in Tanzania has been held to complicate the process of buying, selling or otherwise transferring property and obtaining credit (although there are costs of holding a title, such as taxation, to be reckoned with). However, land markets in HoChiMinh City can work without “proper” property titles.

The evidence suggests that titling on its own will not create a land market, nor will a land administration system unless it is connected with the way participants think about and organise their land.

The ability of the poor to interact with the formal real-estate market to their own benefit once they obtain ownership documents are fundamental questions that are yet to be resolved.

The poor are not impoverished because a simple housing market improvement has been ignored or simply misunderstood. If it is not just titles that constrain housing and land markets in developing countries, what is it? The accumulating evidence is that the constraints placed, sometimes inadvertently, on urban land markets by policy makers have deleterious spillover effects on the workings of the urban economy (Buckley & Kalarickal 2006).

6. 8. Residential mobility, social status and spatial integration

- Titled residents often claim (eg Peru) that being titled makes them feel that they have a higher social status.
- Increased land sales are reported after titling in Cambodia, South Africa and Ukraine, due to households being unable to reside in relocated and titled locations or realising the increased land value.
- In some locations, (eg India,) sales of titled land are officially banned, though unofficial (and discounted) transfers occur.
- In some countries, (eg St Lucia, Colombia) there has been no significant increase in residential mobility, suggesting households do not treat their homes as commercial assets to be traded.
- In Brazil, a form of occupation right (not full freehold title) has enabled residents in favelas to remain in what would be prime locations in purely commercial market terms, thereby increasing spatial if not social integration.

6. 9. Gender aspects

- In many countries, both statutory tenure systems (including land titles) and customary tenure systems discriminate against women.
- Even when laws exist to protect women, social conventions make it difficult for them to realise their rights in practice.
- Recent innovations in both titling and neo-customary tenure programmes are increasingly addressing this issue. A key consideration is what happens when women are divorced or widowed.

The social and economic impacts of titling on women have not been covered in detail in sufficient examples for clear conclusions to be drawn.
6.10. Health and education

- Insufficient attention is paid to this issue in the literature. However, it has been found (in Peru) that children in titled households show a positive weight-for-height benefit and teenage pregnancy rates are lower than in untitled households. However, there were no height-for-weight differences.
- The Peru study also found smaller household sizes in titled than untitled households which were explained as due to lower fertility levels and fewer extended family members.
  - An evaluation from another titling programme in Buenos Aires suggests that children in titled parcels enjoy better anthropometric outcomes and that teenage girls have lower pregnancy rates.

6.11. Impacts on local environments

Again, evidence is modest:
- In South Africa, it is claimed that titling imposed strict boundaries between parcels which reduced traditional social interaction and environmental flexibility in land use.
- In India, increased investment in areas unable to permit adequate access roads and services provision resulting from increased investment and densification resulted in worse living conditions over time.
- In Indonesia, it was found that delineating and enforcing property rights lead to a more efficient use of private property…. If improved tenure security leads to significant own-provision and maintenance of infrastructure services in neighborhoods, then it might change the type of intervention that would be most cost-effective in internalizing neighborhood externalities -- away from provision or financing of local public goods (LPGs) and towards attempts to rationalize tenure.

7. MOST FREQUENT OUTCOMES OBSERVED

7.1. Social inclusion

Security of tenure was and still is often simplistically equated with the allocation of land titles to individual households, and titling procedures based on the privatization of land. The evidence has focused on social and economic impacts of titled households and suggests that titling has increased spatial integration by enabling poor households to remain in locations which would otherwise have been unaffordable to them. Social inclusion has not been increased in all cases (eg Brazil) where newly titled communities still regard themselves as marginalised. However, newly titled residents in Lima consider their social status has increased since titles were allocated. However, the increased property values resulting from titling has often had adverse effects on tenants and other vulnerable groups and reduced access to later generations of poor households.

Another concern could be that titling makes slum dwellers run the risk of losing their property (reselling for short term consumption finance or distress sales), whereas groups or communities might come up with collective arrangements to avoid evictions and protect individuals against dispossession. Titles may weaken rather than strengthen security.

In customary areas, freehold creates classes of those with and those without land rights:
- It cannot accommodate extended family and group rights easily
- In some cases, (eg Ghana) titling has proved divisive.
- In South Africa, it has been held to undermine traditional social systems which are considered more inclusive.

There is a real danger that a policy approach that emphasizes the benefits of owner-occupation, and provides various incentives for it, may result in the creation of a large under-class that is denied access to any form of affordable or acceptable housing. This fails to take into adequate account the variety of legal and socially accepted traditions in land tenure systems and distorts land markets in favor of one system at the expense of all others.

As the most vulnerable group, tenants are usually not eligible for and economically excluded from tenure regularisation and resettlement, and cannot apply for compensation in case of forced removal. They are exposed to the arbitrary decision of their land or shelter owner, generally with no recourse to legal advice. Being the poorest amongst the urban poor, they are unable to meet the costs incurred by land titling. According to DFID 2002, few titling programmes in developing countries have succeeded. The main problem is that they can disadvantage poor people who lose the security provided by customary tenure whilst being unable to complete the bureaucratic process of registration. In the worst cases this has created opportunities for the powerful to override customary or informal rights. In both urban and rural areas titling programmes have seen tenants and other vulnerable land users displaced.

7.2. Impacts of privatisation on land markets

Risks of sweeping market eviction especially if the urban poor are not protected by legal framework (ref. to rights-based approaches to tenure) and if planning norms do not permit tenure regularisation for the poorest households.

**Acquisition for public interest generates new forms of tenure insecurity**

Paradoxically the dynamics of evictions/expropriations carried out in the name of public interest can be observed in some cities that have a high rate of economic growth, and/or increased investment capacities, for example in Kigali. The same phenomenon is observed in Indian cities and in Brazil. (Even the US Supreme Court has recently relaxed the conditions which local authorities need to satisfy in order to compulsorily acquire private property for public purposes. This is likely to facilitate commercial redevelopment). This situation can induce massive market-driven displacement.

There is a real danger that a policy approach that emphasizes the benefits of owner-occupation, and provides various incentives for it, may result in the creation of a large under-class that is denied access to any form of affordable or acceptable housing. This fails to take into adequate account the variety of legal and socially accepted traditions in land tenure systems and distorts land markets in favor of one system at the expense of all others.

8. MAIN ISSUES ENCOUNTERED IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF TITLING PROGRAMMES

Titling policies may integrate previously illegal or unauthorised areas into the formal land market and increase the revenues available to local authorities to manage urban growth (Thailand and Ukraine). At the same time, in other locations, they have created a pattern of
land ownership that is more rigid, more regulated, better enforced, and hence considerably less affordable than before. Too little is known concerning the contextual factors which influence either outcome to be able to draw general policy conclusions.

8.1. Legal dualism and cultural diversity

The Western-legal view of individual property does not seem to be necessarily helpful or appropriate to poverty reduction. Where there are multiple rights to a piece of land, the tenure security conferred on one person through titling creates corresponding insecurity and loss of rights for others.

Integration of customary tenure systems and practices in land titling projects and programmes is discussed in series of case studies carried out in 2002–2003.

8.2. Costs of titling

Titling is often a costly process and the costs of adjudicating claims may abrogate the gains from titling.

Assessing the cost of these programmes is difficult, as there are many upstream costs (e.g. land administration reform, setting up of appropriate land information and land registration systems that must be updated, land survey, resolution of land related disputes, adjudication, …). Titling programmes are invariably expensive.
- Where such costs are passed on to recipient households (taxation, rent/lease, cost recovery for services, obligation to comply with planning and construction norms), they can be expected to reduce demand.
- Where they are borne by titling agencies, they may increase demand but at the cost of agency budgets.
- In South Africa, registered leaseholds were allocated free of cost to households, though at considerable cost to titling agencies.

8.3. Administrative constraints

It takes about 15 years to set up a land administration system. Yet titling programmes are implemented in contexts where administration involved cannot cope with the demand. Land titling programmes impose a heavy burden on administrative agencies to identify, survey, issue and record titles and maintain registers. In many cases, this burden proves beyond local capacity to deliver or sustain. Constraints include:
- Requiring ministers or senior officials to approve individual titles
- Complex procedures for allocating and registering titles.
- Failure to maintain accurate and up to date records, resulting in titles losing essential legal certainty.

8.4. Macro-economic constraints
- If a small number of titles are issued, administrative costs will be modest, but distortions to land markets are likely to be considerable.
- If a large number of titles are issued, land market distortions will be modest, but administrative costs will be considerable.

8.5. Transferability, replicability of titling tools and procedures

Transferability of TF made difficult because land is a social relation, and TF cannot be seen as a mere technical issue based on a set of clearly identified tools.

9. SOME QUESTIONS RAISED AND IMPLICATIONS

9.1. Questions raised

What is really at stake in titling? Securing investment? Securing tenure? Empowering the poor? The desk review suggests that titling must, first of all, be seen as a tool for securing tenure, promoting and securing investments and giving access to credit. However, this may not apply to all urban stakeholders. The review suggests that formal private sector and investors (including real estate developers) benefit in some respects from titling. However it is doubtful if those not eligible for titling (tenants, occupants of plots that do not compel with planning norms) or those who will not be able to cope with obligations and costs incurred many not benefit.

Economic development strategies v/s social objectives
The literature on titling has tended to focus on the economic outcomes in which it is seen as a precondition for private investment, and private investment a condition of economic development.
Short and medium term social objectives (fight against forced evictions, provide secure tenure, reduced housing expenditures and transport cost for low-income households, new forms of social exclusion/segregation), which titling may induce, has received less attention.

9.2. Policy implications

What are the prerequisite for the successful implementation of titling?
Do empirical tests confirm some observations made in selected case studies regarding
- Political will at highest level.
- Credit system and mortgage finance adapted to the needs of low-income households
- Land administration (legal, regulatory and administrative framework of land management and administration, land registration)
- Institutional reforms that define property rights and reduce information asymmetry
- Judiciary and conflicts resolution entities and mechanism
- Articulation between titling and urban planning norms and processes
- Articulation between national tenure regularisation & titling policies (need for national strategy and guideline) and local/municipal policies
- Communities & population participation.

Alternative options to land titling
Without sufficient empirical evidence, the debate about the relevance of titling is obscured by ideological considerations. This has discouraged an informed and balanced assessment of the specific factors which determine whether titling is the most appropriate policy option in a particular context or whether other options would be preferable.

9.3. Implications for research

- How land markets are operating and interacting in the context of land titling and other forms of large-scale tenure regularisation? Titling on its own will not create a land market, nor will a land administration system unless it is connected with the way participants think about and organise their land.

- Need for assessing the social and economic impact (field work)

- Methodological problems for sampling, data processing, and statistical analysis.

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