

LAND MANAGEMENT AND URBAN SPRAWL IN NIGERIA



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Fuad Malkawi
Reyna Alorro
Oluwaseun Olowoporoku
Sandra Hiari
Michael Ilesanmi

Abstract

Fragmented land administration and market distortions stymie affordable housing development, exacerbate informality, hamper economic development, and limit revenues in major Nigerian cities. The bifurcated land administration system, encompassing both statutory and customary practices, poses several constraints that prevent the development of healthy land markets and the efficient delivery of land as a resource for urban development initiatives. This paper investigates the key land challenges that hinder sustainable development in Nigerian cities – with a special focus on Lagos - and identifies land reform areas that can improve the management of informal growth and foster better planning and development in Nigerian cities. This study identifies six core challenges that constrain the functioning of healthy urban land markets related to: 1) land acquisition and tenure security; 2) land registration; 3) land costs; 4) land use planning and development; 5) land information and digitization; and 6) land speculation and grabbing. The study recommends land reform across numerous fronts in order to curb urban sprawl and unlock the housing market for the sustainable growth and development of Nigerian cities.

1. Introduction

Land is a major element of sustainable urban growth. Addressing the systemic challenges in land access and utilization across Nigeria can unlock its economic potential, foster coordinated urban growth, attract private investment, and ultimately reduce poverty. In response to a request from the Government of Nigeria, the World Bank, under the Urban Liveability and Mobility Programmatic ASA, conducted a diagnostic study to identify key land challenges hindering sustainable urban development.

The study comprised a desk review of publicly available data sets and studies, data provided by state governments, and World Bank data. The study also utilized alternative sources of data such as spatial land-use maps derived from satellite imagery. Field research was conducted with concerned ministries, departments, and agencies (MDAs), community groups and other relevant stakeholders across cities to triangulate findings from the desk review through focus group discussions, key informant interviews, and in-depth case studies. The results for Lagos were validated at various stages of analysis between the World Bank team and senior officials of state MDAs, civil society representatives, women's groups, and business community representatives. Work in other cities is still progressing.

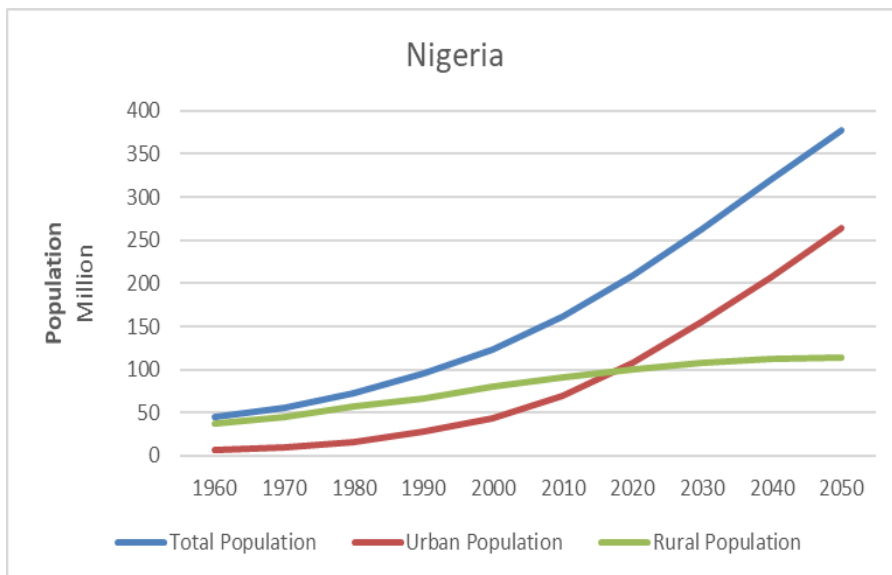
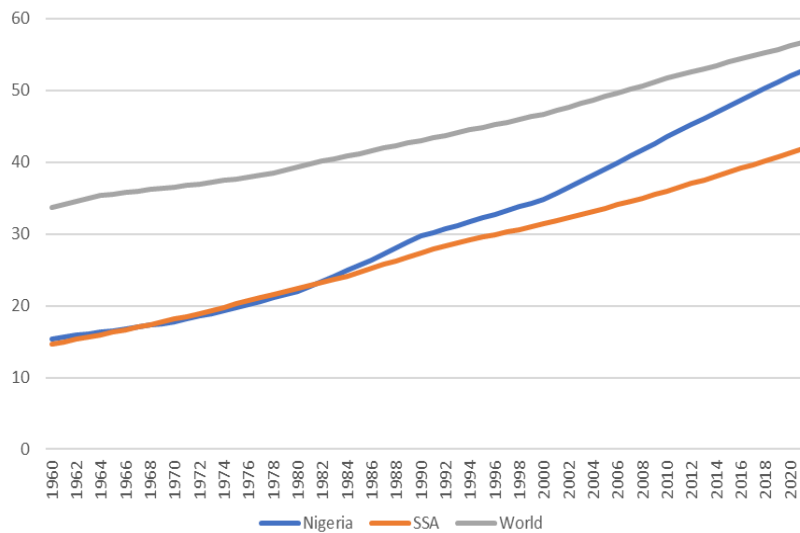
The study analysed topics such as urbanization in Nigeria, factors affecting urban sprawl in Nigerian cities, and land administration and management systems as a key factor affecting sprawl and impeding the efficient delivery of land for sustainable urban growth and development. This paper provides a summary of the key findings of the first phase of the study and concludes with the key elements that need to be improved to achieve a better land administration and management system in Nigeria.

2. Urbanization in Nigeria

Nigeria is urbanizing rapidly at a rate of 3.8% annually and is over 50% urban (World Bank 2023a). Between 1960-2022, Nigeria’s urban population has multiplied by 14 times, from less than 7 million people to 117 million (Figure 1). Growth projections indicate that by 2030, Nigeria will be nearly 60% urban and by 2050, the urban population will reach 70% (World Bank, 2023a). Lagos is the largest city with 13-27 million inhabitants (World Bank 2023a) and is considered a megacity. By 2035, Nigeria is projected to have four additional megacities: Kano, Abuja, Ibadan and Port Harcourt (with a population of over five million) (UN DESA WUP 2018). As established by Africapolis (2020), there are more than 1,200 cities and towns across the country, 19 of which have more than 1 million residents, 15 cities have populations ranging between 500,000 up to 1 million persons, 16 cities with a population of 300,000 to 500,000 inhabitants and over 1,000 smaller towns exist with a population of 10,000 up to 300,000 (see Figures 2 and 3).

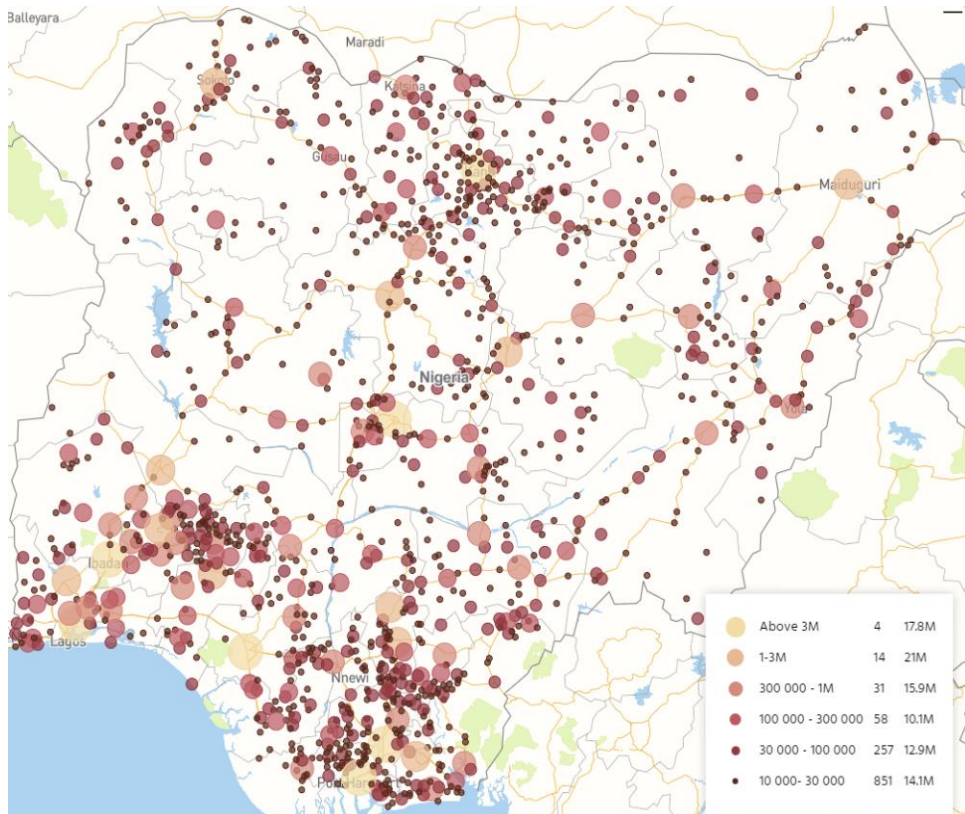
Figure 1: Urban population growth in Nigeria

Urban population growth as a percentage of total population



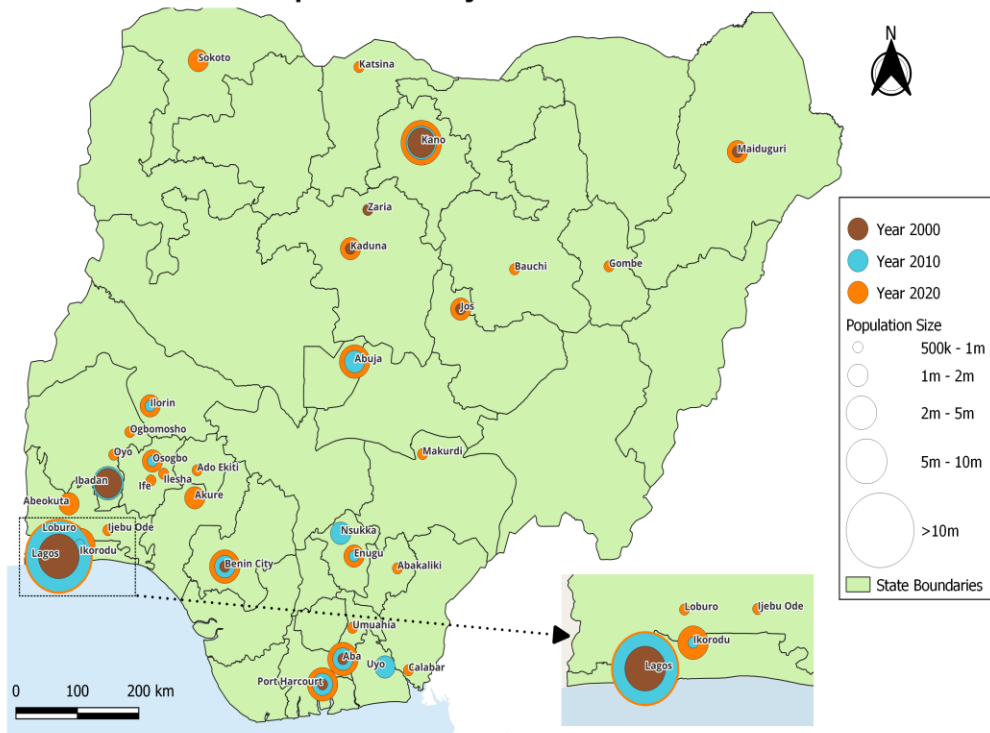
Source: World Bank. Data Bank

Figure 2: Map of Nigeria showing urban agglomerations



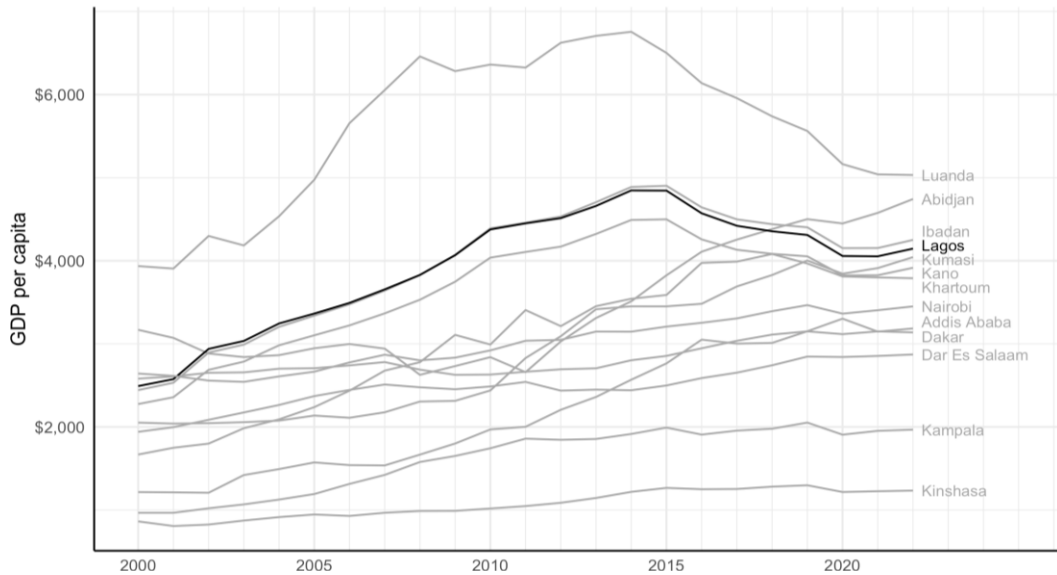
Source: Africapolis Projections for 2020, using 2015 data

**Figure 3: Map of Nigeria showing the largest cities
Population of Major Cities 2000 - 2020**



Source: World Bank using data from Africapolis.

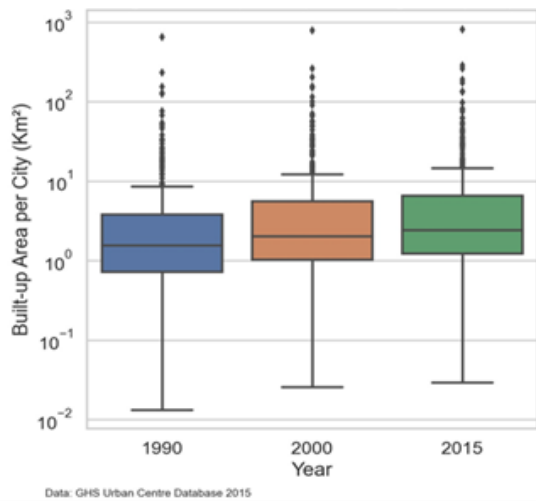
Figure 4: GDP Per Capita for Nigerian Cities and Benchmark Cities, 2020-2022



Source: Oxford Economics, 2022, “Competitive Cities Database”.

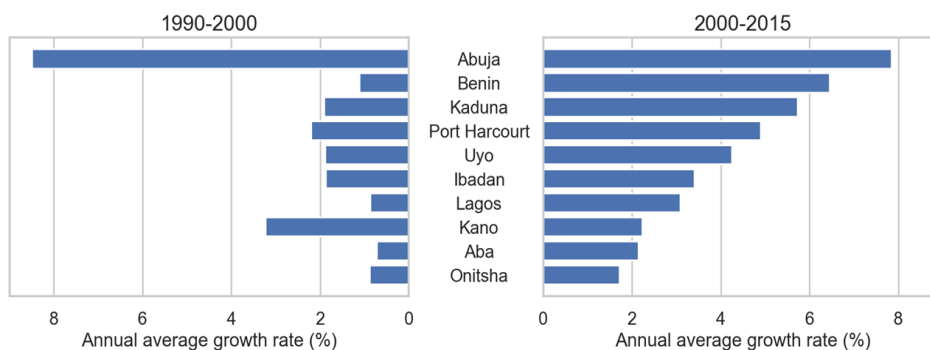
In addition to population growth, urbanization in Nigeria has been associated with economic and spatial growth. In the past decades, cities have served as economic hubs. Nigeria's three largest cities- Lagos, Kano and Ibadan- have similar GDP per capita over the past two decades with peaks in 2015 and respectively ranked 3rd and 4th and 6th amongst 13 benchmark cities in SSA (see Figure 4). Cities have also experienced growth of built-up areas. For instance, built-up areas approximately tripled between 1985 and 2015, at an annual average growth rate generally between 3-4%, demonstrating the degree of urbanization (World Bank, 2022a) (see Figures 5). The ten most populous cities, with the exception of Kano, experienced faster expansion of built-up areas between 2000 and 2015 compared to the previous decade (see Figure 6). However, population growth in these cities has significantly outpaced built-up growth, with cities characterized by low levels of infrastructure and a high share of slums. In Lagos, only 35% of the population has access to the public water supply and only 5% is connected to the public sewerage system (World Bank, 2023b). Nearly half of Nigeria's urban population live in slums (World Bank, 2020). In some cities such as Lagos, 50-75% live in informal housing (World Bank, 2023b).

Figure 5: Average Growth Rate of Built-up Areas



Source: World Bank. 2022. Nigeria DRM Analytics

Figure 6: Built-Up Expansion in Nigerian Cities Between 2000-2015



Data: WSF

Source: World Bank. 2022. Nigeria DRM Analytics

Rapid growth of cities coupled with the loosely connected nature of land use and economic development policies has led to increased urban sprawl in major cities in Nigeria. The process of land acquisition, outlined in the 1978 Land Use Act (LUA), the legal framework for land administration in Nigeria, is highly complex and contributes to the development challenges of Nigeria’s fast-growing cities. Furthermore, states are provided with a high level of autonomy, contributing to the complexity of Nigeria’s land administration system, with states applying various formal, informal, customary and religious norms on land within their administrative boundaries (World Bank, 2022b). Other impediments, discussed in Section 4, limit the potential of land as a strategic tool for sustainable urban growth and development (World Bank, 2022b; World Bank, 2019a).

3.0 Factors Affecting Urban Sprawl in Nigerian Cities

Urban sprawl, attributed to rapid urbanization and unplanned and uncontrolled urban expansion, has had multiple effects on livability and mobility in Nigerian cities. According to the World Bank (2020), 49% of the urban population lives in slum-like conditions with limited access to basic services and informal settlements being built in disaster-prone areas in major cities. Other associated impacts of sprawl in Nigerian cities include increased travel distances between housing and job centers and increased dependence on private vehicles due to insufficient urban transport systems, resulting in increased congestion as well as increased carbon emissions, having a negative impact on the environment and on public health. These impacts underscore the need for policy actions and investments to support sustainable urban growth and development in Nigeria.

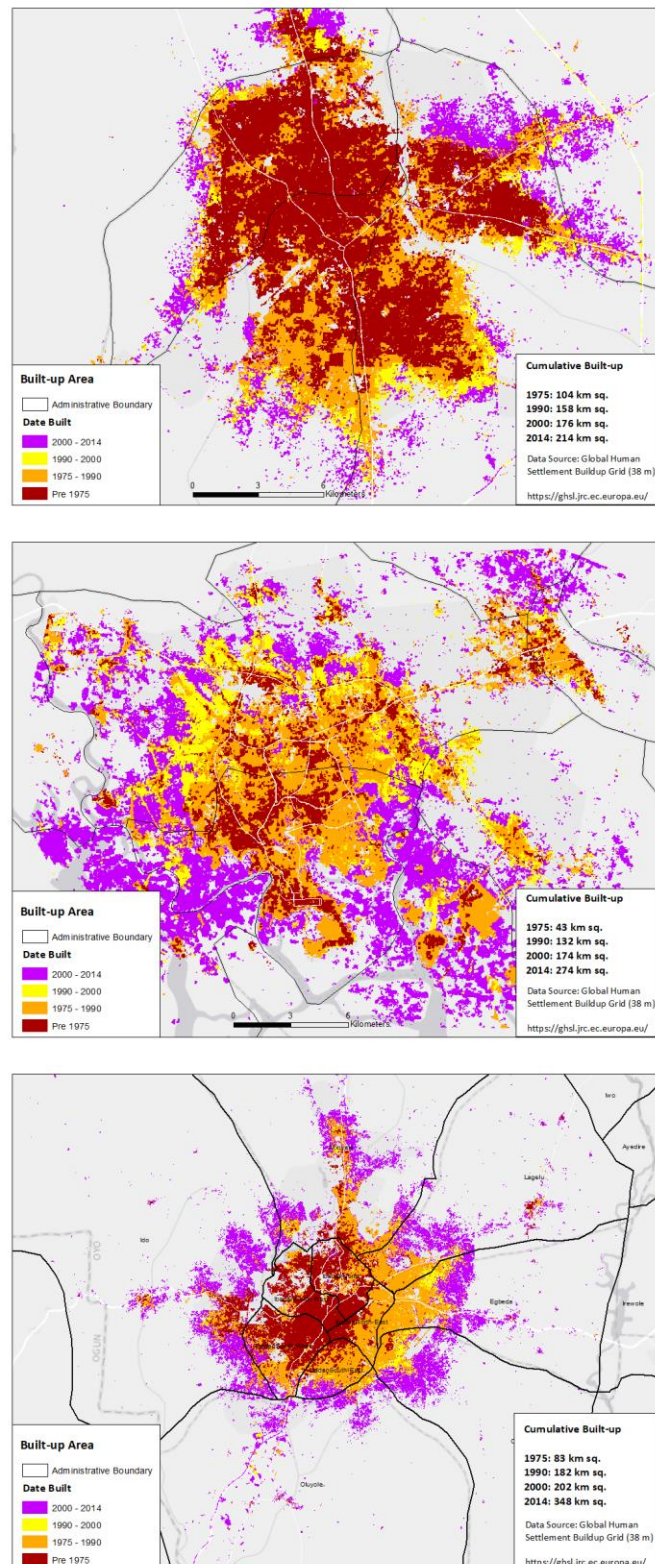
Sprawling growth is attributed in large part to a severe housing shortage and particularly a lack of affordable housing in city centers. The national housing deficit in 2018 was estimated to be 20 million units, a 15% increase from the previous year (Central Bank of Nigeria, 2019), with Lagos alone needing over ~3.3 million units (World Bank, 2023b). Most of the new housing units being built are only affordable to the rich, leaving a severe housing deficit for low- and middle-income groups who account for 99% of the country’s population. A lack of affordable housing in city centers has led to the outward informal growth of cities towards the urban periphery, resulting in sprawling spatial patterns (see Figure 7 showing the sprawl of Benin City, Port Harcourt and Ibadan). States such as Lagos and Ogun are experiencing rapid uncontrolled urban sprawl into undeveloped peri-urban areas where housing costs are lower, but homes are often lacking in essential infrastructure and services, contributing to low

livability. While national and state housing programs exist aimed to improve access to affordable housing, they have yielded limited results, with land issues constraining and adversely impacting government efforts (World Bank, 2023b).

Rapid urban growth has resulted in increased disaster risk exposure, especially to flooding. Between 2000 and 2019, flood occurrences in Nigerian cities increased by five times, and the number of casualties recorded was the highest compared to other hazards (World Bank, 2022a). Vast built-up areas and significant shares of urban populations and infrastructure are highly vulnerable to flooding City. For example, about 50% of the densest settlement areas in Benin City are exposed to river and rainwater flooding (World Bank, CRP, 2019b) (see Figure 8). Other threats in Nigerian cities as a result of uncontrolled urban development include extreme heat and urban heat island effects. For coastal cities, coastal erosion risks and sea level rise pose additional threats attributed to unsustainable urban development.

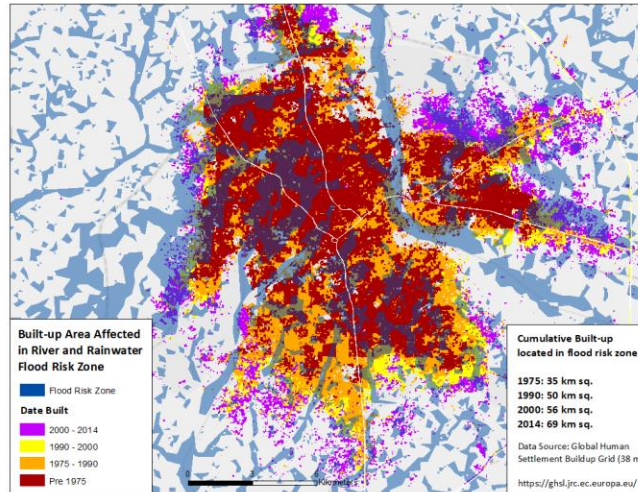
Nigerian cities are not only facing increased disaster risks associated with rapid growth and insufficient infrastructure; unplanned growth has made urban centers major contributors to carbon emissions in the country, contributing to climate effects. The transport sector is the main contributor to local air pollution in major urban areas in Nigeria, attributed to sprawling spatial patterns and a heavy reliance on road and private vehicular transport, which has tremendous social and economic impacts.

Figure 7: Urban Extent and Change from 1975-2014 in Benin City (top), Port Harcourt (middle) and Ibadan (bottom)

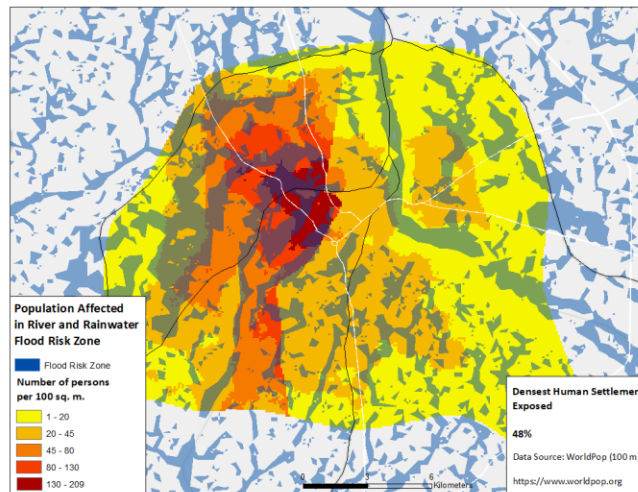


Source: World Bank, City Resilience Program (CRP). City Scans for Benin City, Port Harcourt and Ibadan.

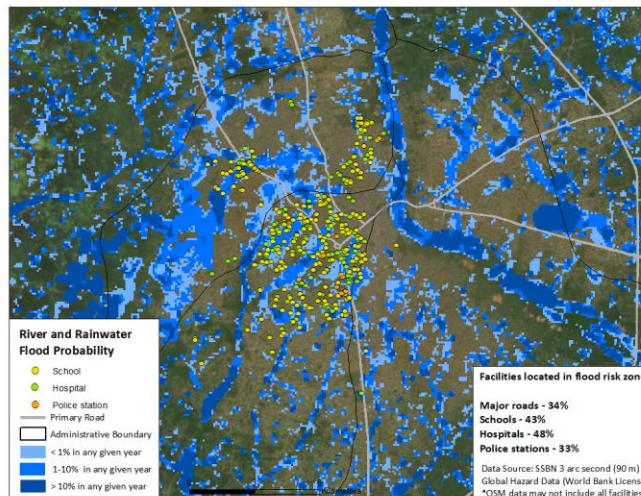
Figure 8: Built-up, Population and Infrastructure Exposure to Flooding in Benin City



The built-up area in Benin City exposed to river and rainwater flooding grew at an annual rate of 2.5% from 1975 to 2014, reaching 69 sq. km collectively exposed.



In Benin City, 48% of the densest settlement areas (between 130 and 209 persons per 100m²) are exposed to both river and rainwater flooding.



In Benin City, 48% of hospitals, 43% of schools, 34% of major roads, and 33% of police stations are located in a river or rainwater flood risk zone.

4.0 Land Management as a Key Factor Affecting Urban Sprawl in Nigeria

A key factor that affects the sprawling development of Nigerian cities is the country's fragmented and bifurcated land administration and management system, which impedes the efficient delivery of land for sustainable urban growth and development. This section provides an overview of the main land challenges in Nigeria, with Lagos as a main focus of analysis. Six core challenges constrain the functioning of healthy urban land markets, which are briefly described in this section.

1. Land Acquisition and Tenure Security Challenges

Complicated land acquisition processes lead to high levels of informality, contributing to sprawl

In Nigeria, the complexity in the process of land acquisition associated with formal and informal land delivery systems is a major challenge for an average income earner to gain access to land for housing development (World Bank, 2022b). Impediments such as legal dualism in land tenure, complicated land titling and registration procedures, restrictive and discriminatory land use policies, problems of indigenous landowners, multiple payments for land, and lack of access to long term mortgage finance pose challenges to land acquisition. In essence, land acquisition standards and processes across Nigeria often do not comport with internationally accepted standards such as the African Union's *Framework and Guidelines for Land Policy in Africa*.

The cumbersome activities involved in land acquisition and allocation pose barriers for potential developers of mass housing and other urban developments of public interest, including for the government (World Bank, 2022b). For instance, whenever the federal government is to develop mass housing, there is the need for release of land from the state government. This poses a problem because in the case of a state with ruling political parties different from the federal government, the state may refuse to release land for the federal government due to political prejudice between the state and the federal government.

Land rights in Nigeria, as dictated by the LUA, creates a series of uncertainties and additional transaction costs and a lack of transparency in planning (World Bank, 2022b). The LUA was enacted in 1978 with the aim of harmonising the land tenure system under a uniform rule set across the country. It nationalized all land in the country, revoking private property rights and placing administration and decisions over land access in the hands of state governors. The LUA vests all land to state governors and gives them the authority to grant or make decisions about land allocation and revocation of use rights.

Two formal tenure types are provided for in the LUA: statutory right of occupancy to be granted by the Governor for urban land, and customary right of occupancy granted by the local government for non-urban land (World Bank, 2022b). Both rights of occupancy require the issuance of a Certificate of Occupancy (C of O) for a holding period (99 years for statutory rights of occupancy and 50 years for customary rights of occupancy) subject to the payment of ground rent fixed by the Governor throughout the period. In addition, the LUA recognises deemed rights of occupancy to preserve rights over improved land that existed prior to when the LUA was enacted in 1978. The LUA makes provision for the conversion of deemed rights of occupancy to statutory rights by issuance of the relevant certificate. However, the cases of such conversions have been very few and only a small proportion of acquired land is formally documented according to the provisions of LUA.

2. Land Registration Challenges

High barriers and costs to register land result in extremely low registration levels, exacerbating informality, vulnerability to forced eviction and sprawl.

The LUA recognizes informal land transactions and expects the purchaser to perfect the title to land; however, the land registration/regularization process is costly, lengthy and cumbersome, leading many citizens to circumvent the process, driving low land registration (World Bank, 2022b). The process of obtaining a C of O is characterised with bureaucratic bottlenecks, high registration fees and multiple payments of levies and taxes. State intervention in land administration has created a dual structure land delivery system involving

Figure 9: An inscription to avoid double sale of land



Source: Lagos State Ministry of Justice

double purchase payments to acquire formal title to a piece of land: one payment to the indigenous landowner and then another payment to the State in the form of a ground lease payment to obtain a C of O. This has led to a more complicated land accessibility process. As such, transactions in the land market are largely informal leading to low levels of tenure security in cities. Figure 9 shows an inscription applied on a wall fence of a piece of land, likely unregistered, to avoid further sale of the land to another person.

Multiple regulations and institutions are involved in the land transfer and regularization process, making obtaining a C of O a cumbersome process. As reported in a study by the World Bank (2020), it can take up to 105 days to acquire a C of O as states experience backlogs of C of O approval due to other demands of governors taking priority over their responsibility of issuing the certificates. For instance, in Osun State, while the submission of applications for a Certificate of Occupancy is ongoing, no certificates have been issued (World Bank, 2022b). This is because the Executive Governor had not signed the C of O for a long period of time and the situation has thus reduced the rate of C of O applications. Land registration in reality can take as much as two years in many states in Nigeria.

The challenges associated with obtaining a C of O result in a high level of informal land transactions and forms the basis for the large portion of unregistered land parcels in cities (World Bank, 2022b). Only 3% of properties are estimated to be formally registered in Nigeria (World Bank, 2022c). Lack of tenure leaves the majority of residents vulnerable to forced eviction in light of government-led urban development efforts. In Lagos, many informal settlements around the urban core have been earmarked for either demolition or relocation through various model city plans. Forced eviction typically comes without compensation or alternative arrangements. When alternatives are given, the evictees are relocated to remote areas of the city, where services and jobs are lacking and where they are thus faced with more livelihood challenges.

3. Land Cost Challenges

High land costs inhibit the development of needed affordable housing in central areas of the city.

The high costs associated with land development discourage landowners and private developers from building needed affordable housing in central areas. In Lagos, land constitutes

40–80% of the total cost of a house (World Bank, 2023b). Other development costs are also high. On the supply side, housing costs have increased while wages have remained stagnant (or only marginally increased). Prices of imported building materials have become expensive in light of devaluation of the Nigerian currency and global inflation. On the demand side, mortgages are too expensive and thus remain out of reach for the majority of residents: A would-be homeowner is expected to provide a deposit of between 10-30% to access a mortgage at high interest rates (15-25%). Rents are also extremely high at ~157% more than the acceptable average of spending a third of household income on housing.

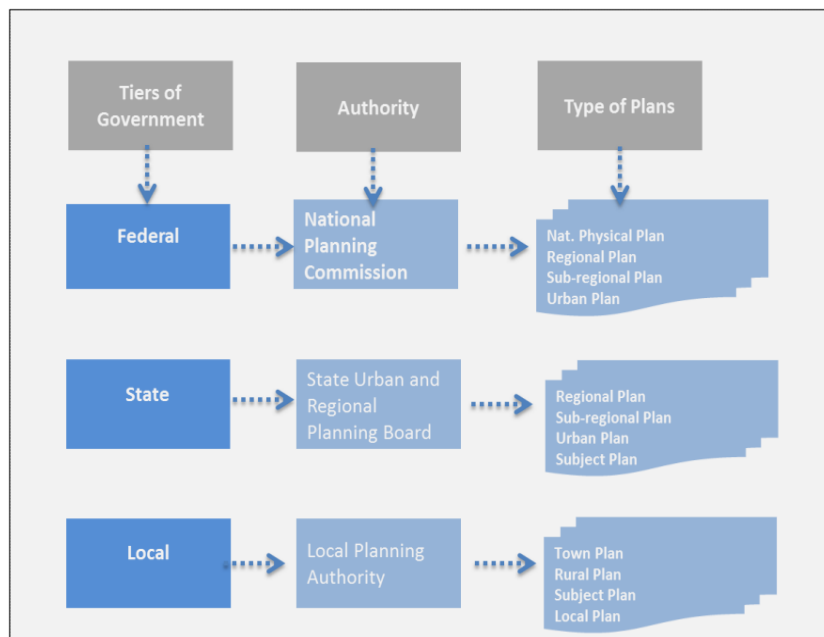
Furthermore, costs within the large informal land market can also be high. Transactions within the informal land market are prone to fraud particularly from descendants of original landowners (Omo-onile), who may demand multiple payments for a parcel of land or from multiple parties or have different family groups lay claim to the same parcel of land. Exorbitant costs in both the formal and informal land markets contribute to a lack of affordable housing in urban areas and thus to sprawl.

4. Land Use Planning and Development Challenges

Weaknesses in Nigeria’s urban planning system result in fragmented, uncoordinated and unsustainable development, contributing to sprawl.

The Urban and Regional Planning Law (1992) is the national legislation to guide physical planning in Nigeria, but the law has been ineffective to guide urban land development in a sustainable manner. Under the 1992 law, states are responsible for developing urban plans while local governments are responsible for local land use plans (see Figure 10). The law was intended to be adopted by each of the 36 states and the Federal Capital

Figure 10: Planning Hierarchy in Nigeria based on the national Urban and Regional Planning Law (1992)



Source: World Bank, 2022d.

For states that have developed land use plans for their cities, governments face plan implementation challenges due to administrative bottlenecks. Various plans have been developed for Lagos, including the Masterplan of Metropolitan Lagos (1980 - 2000), 13 model city plans and some lower order plans - for small towns and urban regeneration plans for slum communities (World Bank, 2023b). But across the board, plan implementation has been slow largely due to administrative bottlenecks and because plans do not have legal backing; in Lagos, the state lacks a law that makes physical plans the binding framework to guide development while planning authorities lack regulatory instruments to enforce compliance.

Analysis of land use planning practices in Lagos reveal several other deficiencies that contribute to unsustainable urban development (World Bank, 2023b). First, land use plans are overwhelmingly aspirational. They lack infrastructure and investment density to match population density and are not linked to a financing plan. Second, plans envisage fully serviced peri-urban developments that are remote from existing urban realities, but the lack of reliable population data impedes effective projections and planning, while feasibility studies are lacking for sound site selection for new development areas. Third, plans are made in isolation, leading to inefficient development and increased costs for service provision. Strategic plans, sectoral plans and urban master plans are not coordinated while resiliency to climate and disaster risks are not integrated into master plans. And fourth, the metropolitan plan is outdated. There is an urgent need to integrate existing and proposed master plans into a comprehensive metropolitan plan that is based on reliable data and that strategically coordinates land development and service provision to support long-term sustainable growth of the megacity.

In Lagos, the complicated and cost-prohibitive planning permit and building approval process serves as a major impediment to sustainable urban development, leading residents to evade the process and resulting in the proliferation of informally constructed and unsafe buildings (World Bank, 2023b). The planning permit and building approval process involves numerous agencies and ministries, and limited use of e-applications means permit processing is mostly conducted manually, which contributes to a lengthy approval process. The period of processing permits is extended due to other administrative bottlenecks such as file movement, missing files or documents, unavailability of officials, and change of officers. A procedure is in place to reduce the permit approval process from 90 to 30 days, but in reality, the process takes 42 days on average (World Bank, 2020). There is a special fast track building plan approval application system that allows for quick processing of applications within one week of the application, but this is based on the payment of 500% of the assessment fees on the application, making this option cost-prohibitive for the majority of residents - development control is misinterpreted as a revenue generating activity, hence local permitting offices (which are under State supervision) are aggressive in enforcement. Unsafe buildings get constructed as a result of citizens evading the permitting process and weak enforcement of building codes and construction regulations. Building collapse occurs as a result of poor workmanship and ineffective supervision, use of substandard materials, hasty construction, illegal conversion/change of use, and/or poor equipment adopted in construction.

5. Land Information and Digitization Challenges

State and local governments have little information about the location, ownership, or use of specific parcels, hampering strategic and sustainable urban development.

Due to the low level of formally registered land, states and local governments have very limited information on land within their administrative boundaries. Lack of land information constrains

urban planning, limits private sector investment, and thus hinders sustainable development of Nigerian cities. For example, Lagos has one of Nigeria's most advanced land registration systems owing to the enactment of the 2015 Lagos State Lands Registration Law, which streamlines title registration, land instruments, and transactions, creating a unified system for Lagos' land sector. In spite of this, land registration programs, land registration databases and cadastral mapping are not linked, leading to inefficient land management (World Bank, 2022b). Inadequate land registries and databases limit the capacity of states to account for land parcels and resources. This in turn limits the collection of taxes and thus the ability of governments to raise essential resources for capital investments. Property taxes can be a major source of internally generated revenue (IGR) for state governments, but they play a minor role in Nigeria. In Lagos, property tax revenue represents just 2% of total IGR (LSMEPB, 2022).

Land titling and registration have not been effectively digitized in many states, contributing to inefficient land administration systems. Abuja leads in Nigeria's electronic land administration system (World Bank 2019a). States like Abia, Edo, and Kaduna use technology like GIS and Electronic Document Management Systems (EDMS) to streamline processes, but land registration processes remain manual (paper-based). More recently, Kaduna, Kano, Jigawa, Ondo, Kogi and Anambra have begun reforming their systems through a Systematic Land Titling Registration (SLTR) program to eliminate the paper-based system, signifying on-going digital improvements of land administration systems.

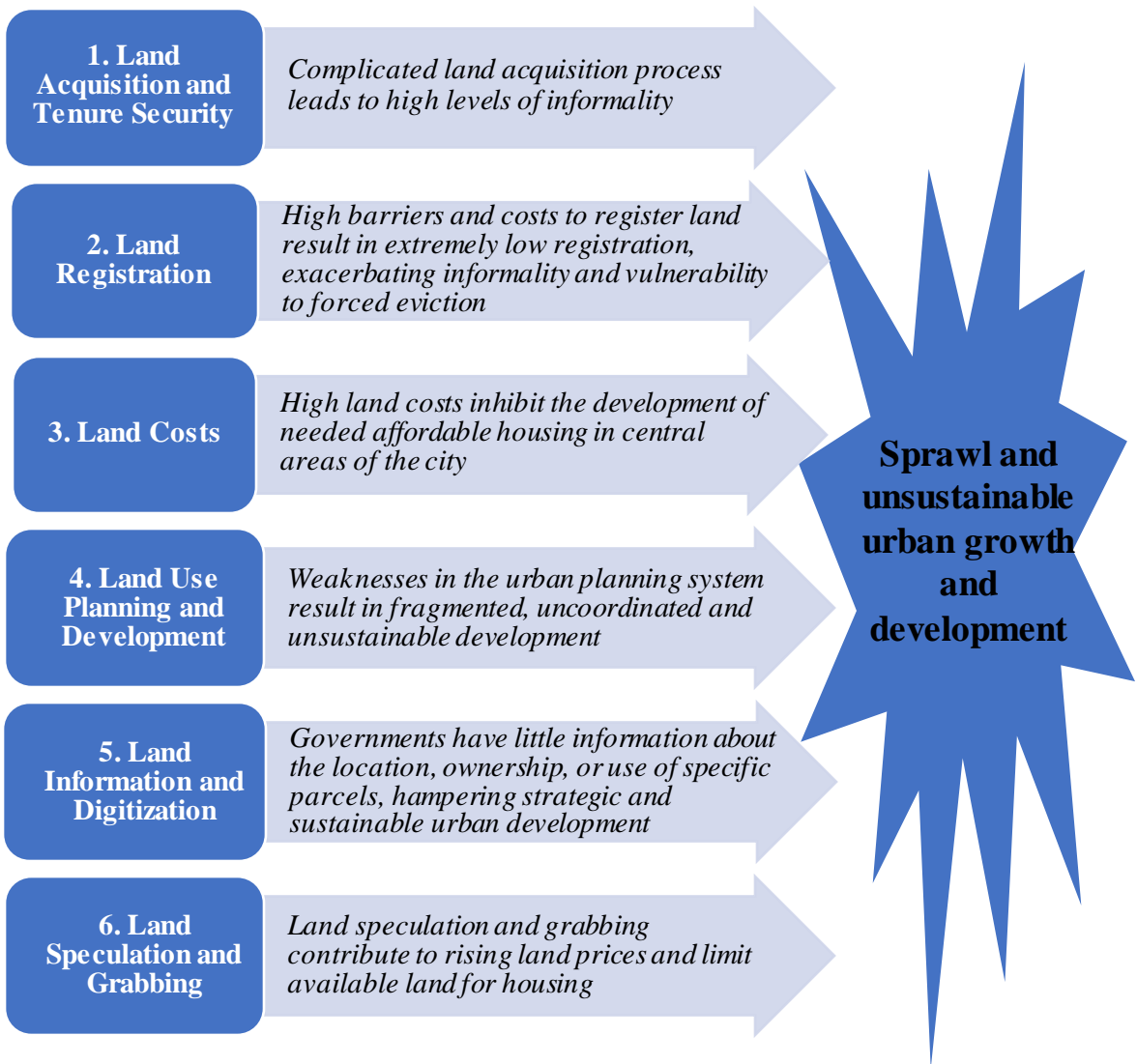
6. Land Speculation and Grabbing Challenges

Land speculation and grabbing also contribute to rising land prices and to limiting available land for housing, thus also fueling urban sprawl.

The inefficiency of land markets in Nigeria has fueled land speculation, creating redundancy to land acquired by speculators and thus forcing developers to move to urban fringes before securing land for development. This leaves cities with pockets of undeveloped plots. Land grabbing is another challenge to land administration in Nigeria and it is of two variants (World Bank, 2022b). One common trend by which governments inadvertently promote land grabbing is associated with 'development promotion' and touting the benefits of land-based activities such as agricultural development, increased cash crop and livestock production, infrastructure provision, and housing development. The second variant of land grabbing in Nigeria is associated with the descendants of indigenous landowners. The activities of land grabbers in Nigeria have been responsible for loss of lives, using force or intimidation to dispossess people of landed properties acquired from government allocation or private transactions or prevent them from acquiring legitimate interest in and possession of landed properties. Households have thus been forced to relocate to other less attractive areas of the city or prevented from carrying out construction activities on their land further fueling sprawl. Lagos state established the Land Grabbers Law of 2016, which provides for ten years imprisonment or a fine of up to N5 million naira (about \$4200) to punish offenders. The law has helped reduce the number of land-grabbing cases (World Bank, 2022b). However, most states across the country do not have legislation or established penalties to combat land grabbing activities.

Conclusion

The study examined the key urban land challenges that hinder sustainable development in Nigerian cities. Nigeria's land administration and management system is a key factor contributing to urban sprawl and impeding the efficient delivery of land for sustainable urban growth and development. Specifically, the study identified that six core land challenges contribute to the growth of urban sprawl in Nigeria:



The challenges identified in the study indicate the need for land reform across numerous fronts in order to curb urban sprawl and unlock the housing market for the sustainable growth and development of Nigerian cities. Key elements that need to be improved to achieve a better land administration and management system in Nigerian states include:

- 1. Strengthening capacity to increase the efficiency of land titling and registration processes.** This includes streamlining and fully automating the process for land transfers and registration/regularization. This also includes strengthening technical capacity of state governments to: (i) expedite registration and regularization processes; (ii) develop new tools to expedite the process to formalize and secure land tenure, such as through a government-sponsored certificate issuance program rather than waiting for residents to

initiate the process; and (iii) develop a monitoring and evaluation system that includes establishing performance goals and indicators to track the progress of land registration activities and hold accountability.

- 2. Reducing land development costs to support building affordable housing in central areas.** This includes reforms to support savings in both time and financial costs for private developers. Reforms would include strengthening technical capacity of governments to facilitate more efficient and expedient administrative processes such as through streamlining and fully automating both land registration and planning and building permit approval processes. To reduce financial costs, reforms include exploring the use of land-based financing tools and developer incentives to build affordable housing (e.g., density bonuses, conveying land at no cost, payment-in-lieu-of-taxes, mixed-income development to allow for cross-subsidization). For urban renewal projects, governments can consider cross-subsidy schemes that include the costs of land tenure regularization and guarantee issuance of Certificates of Occupancy for informal settlers. Additionally, governments can support the use of innovative building strategies to reduce the costs of housing construction.
- 3. Strengthening urban planning systems.** This includes developing visionary and coherent metropolitan-level spatial plans and putting legislative and regulatory instruments in place to support plan implementation. This would involve developing a legislative framework for the preparation of a metropolitan plan in coordination with local master plans and urban renewal plans and establishing plans as legally binding documents. Reforms also include promoting urban regeneration and compact mixed-use development to counter urban sprawl. This entails: (i) developing urban master plans that prioritize urban regeneration and the development of compact and multifunctional districts, limiting future urban expansion; (ii) evaluating the introduction of financial and/or development incentives/tools for developers to foster urban regeneration and compact development; (iii) identifying mechanisms to renovate and repurpose existing buildings in the urban core (i.e., bringing existing vacant buildings into use); and (iv) using an asset management approach to identify government-owned brownfield sites and to prepare and release them for desired urban development. A last critical reform is developing a multi-sectoral governance framework to support coordinated and more efficient land planning and development.
- 4. Developing a comprehensive land information system.** This comprises strategic actions such as: (i) building the technical capacity of agencies involved in land to complete the cadaster through surveying, GIS mapping and identification of occupants; (ii) coordinating the activities of the multiple agencies that deal with land activities; and (iii) developing a publicly accessible land information management system that integrates land records and spatial mapping of statutory and customary land plots.
- 5. Developing a national land policy to unify interventions for the land sector.** This would entail: (i) establishing a National Land Commission as a technical body with representation from key actors both at the national and state levels to develop regulations and to monitor land system performance regularly; (ii) formalizing customary land tenure to eliminate dual land registration processes and include traditional institutions in land management programs; (iii) harmonizing plot standards across the country; and (iv) developing regulations with enforcement mechanisms to tackle land grabbing, land speculation and effectively resolve land conflicts.

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