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Land governance in the context of urbanisation and climate change: Linking the rural and the urban

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1. Introduction

The 2016 LANDac Annual International Land Conference was titled 'Land governance in the context of urbanisation and climate change: Linking the rural and the urban'. The many contributions illustrated the various ways in which rural and urban areas are interlinked. People originating from rural areas are moving to cities and rural areas are being swallowed by the expanding cities at a rapid pace. At the same time, the (new) city dwellers also have an impact on rural areas. This poses new questions and challenges for land governance. The conference brought together stakeholders from around the world, from a variety of backgrounds; mostly academics, but also consultants, policy makers and NGO representatives. Two days were filled with six key notes, 15 panel sessions in which 55 papers were presented and discussed, four 'policy and practice' sessions and six special events. Topics of the conference included; megacities, infrastructure development, peri-urban dynamics, rural and urban land conflicts, urban

elites and property relations, changing landscapes and livelihoods, food security, climate change and property rights and land administration. Geoffrey Payne, Housing and Urban Development Consultant presented a keynote focusing on the major challenges to land management in the context of a changing world and particularly in relation to the limitations of market capitalism. This report reflects the key issues discussed during the conference but cannot do justice to all what has been discussed.

Opening words

Annelies Zoomers, chair of LANDac and Professor of International Development Studies, asked participants to bring the research and the policy agendas on land governance in rural and urban areas a step further and highlighted the interlinkages between the two. Marjan Oudeman, president of the executive Board of Utrecht University, opened the conference. She mentioned that land rights are now firmly on the international agenda, and that the SDGs give momentum to bring about positive change. Oudeman praised the good work that has been done and challenged the participants by saying she believes more can be achieved. LANDac can play a leading role in this endeavour.

LANDac – http://www.landgovernance.org/
LANDac – the Netherlands Academy on Land Governance for Equitable and Sustainable Development – brings together researchers, policy makers, development practitioners and business professionals in the field of land governance and development. With a focus on new pressures and competing claims on land and natural resources, the LANDac network conducts research, disseminates information, and organizes courses and training. Its guiding question is how to optimize the link between land governance, sustainable development and poverty alleviation. LANDac is a partnership led by, and based at, the International Development Studies group (IDS) of Utrecht University; its partners include the African Studies Centre, Agriterra, the Sociology of Development and Change (SDC) group of Wageningen University, HIVOS, the Royal Tropical Institute (KIT) and the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Reina Buijs, Deputy Director-General International Cooperation at the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs, stated that in order to improve land governance we need a broad range of actors. This multi-actor approach is also referred to as the 'Dutch diamond approach' by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. She reiterated the importance attached to good land governance in Dutch development cooperation, which according to recent progress reports for parliament has contributed to tenure security in partner countries (including 1,5 million people receiving property rights). Improving land governance and security of tenure can have a high impact as they are linked to a wide range of factors including food security, water management, gender, equality, private sector, rule of law and urbanization, Buijs emphasized. She concluded with good news: the LANDac programme, which brings together a wide range of actors, can count on five to six more years of support from the Dutch government.

2. Rural and urban interfaces

The interlinkages between rural and urban areas were a central topic of the conference. The dividing lines between

Box 1. Peri-urban areas

Malovika Pawar of the Indian Administrative Service and Utrecht University said that there is no satisfactory definition of "peri-urban". According to Narain (2009) 'peri-urban areas' are "rural fringe areas that surround the cities and that bear the brunt of urban expansion" and a "space crying out for attention". It is not the proximity to towns, but the linkages and flow of goods, finance, labour and services between rural and urban centres that defines peri-urban. Peri-urban is thus both a 'place' and a 'process'.
João Carrilho, consultant on land and former Vice-Minister of Agriculture, Government of Mozambique, addressed the interdependencies between rural and urban areas. He argued that the connections are 'symbiotic' and characterised by a 'space-time compression'. Furthermore, according to Carrilho, processes are not linear and there is no clear range or a network of small, medium and large urban centres. Rather, linkages are marked by integration, interdependence, granularity and abundance of resources and knowledge. Lessons he wanted to share based on his experience include:
- Agriculture and rural development are important to sustain vibrant urbanization
- Inclusion and mutual support facilitates healthy urbanization in small towns, medium and large cities with a role in rural development
- Urbanization, agriculture, land and rural development policies and governance need to be integrated and closely inter-related in a general development strategy in each country.

Box 2. Mozambique and Indonesia as case studies

Although the conference covered nearly all corners of the world, there were some important country-based focal points. The two countries most addressed in the contributions to the conference were Mozambique and Indonesia.

Mozambique: Nine of the conference papers focused on Mozambique. In the panel session 'Emerging cities and rural urbanization', three papers from Mozambique -one partly on Angola- were discussed, and participants concluded that Mozambique was an interesting case for studying the impacts of rural urbanization, as it is one of the countries where land grabbing frequently occurs. Part of departure in the panel was that the biggest part of urbanization is actually taking place in the countryside. Special attention was paid to new towns that operate as nodes of circulation. In these towns, new forms of migration and new investments (e.g. in the field of tourism; energy, mining and other natural resources; industry and agri-business) are important for development. It was discussed that local governments are responsible for facilitating (but not necessarily providing) public services in these new towns. Lastly, it was argued that in order to steer rural urbanization processes in the right direction, a regional approach is needed.

Indonesia: Parts of the seven conference papers focusing on Indonesia were discussed in a separate session ('Land governance: The case of Indonesia'). Also, two papers focusing on infrastructure projects in the Jakarta were discussed in a separate session. A special event was dedicated to the Garuda project in which Dutch and Indonesian stakeholders have jointly developed a master plan to halt land subsidence and flooding of Jakarta. The project is designed in the form of a giant sea wall and a series of artificial islands shaped like a Garuda (a bird which also is Indonesia's national emblem). By not only creating a seawall but also developing a new area which can house 300,000 people, the projects aims at acquiring part of the budget to build the sea wall. The session focused on the different viewpoints from various stakeholders including governments, NGOs and the private sector.

rural and urban areas are fading in many respects, and it was argued that professionals can no longer look at these geographical areas in isolation. Especially the peri-urban areas are very dynamic areas.

Something in between: small towns
Not only the large cities like Mumbai in India or Accra in Ghana are growing rapidly; also the middle sized cities and smaller cities are increasing in size and number. In his keynote, Theo de Jager, President of the Pan-African Farmers' Organisation (PAFO) focused specifically on the role of smaller cities. He

argued that many small towns were established and still exist today because of the farmers doing their business and looking for services. De Jager noted that small holder farmers are an important part of value chains. He used the example of Zimbabwe; before the land reforms of 2000, more than two-thirds of the total agricultural produce used to be generated by small holders. During the land reforms, land from the large commercial white farmers was acquired and distributed among the black population. When the commercial farmers collapsed (representing one-third of the production), the whole value chain collapsed with consequences for small town development. This example shows that there are many models of interaction between small and large scale farmers which also have an impact on urban areas.

3. Security of tenure

With around 70 percent of the land not registered, security of tenure was one of the central topics discussed at the conference. In the session 'land administration and smart solutions', it was mentioned that land administration is relevant for most of the SDGs (namely SDG 1, 2, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 13, 16 and 17). While registration can be an important way to secure tenure, it was widely agreed that it is not possible to register all land, because this is too expensive and time consuming. Moreover, people are not likely to invest a lot of time and money in a piece of paper, as was discussed in one of the sessions. Jean du Plessis of UN-Habitat argued that obtaining title deeds must be affordable to people and we should also not romanticize title deeds. A system with expensive title deeds will lapse. The limitations of land registration were reflected in several of the sessions. For instance, in the session on communal land right and collective action, it was discussed that land titling in not intrinsically important for securing livelihoods. A reasonable level of tenure security can sometimes also be obtained by simple means. Responding to a question from the audience, 'what should we do first; planning or registration?' Payne stated we need to do both as 'Life is what happens if you are busy making plans'.

Rules and regulations alone do not ensure that what is on paper is also put in practice, as was mentioned by several key note speakers and panellists. Also, new legislation might take a long period of time before it can be put into practice. As was discussed, there is an important gap that exists between all kinds of policies available and what has been put into practice.

In India, new land acquisition laws were introduced in 2013, and they were perceived as an important improvement to the former legislation, which dated back to colonial times. However, the amended Act could not go through either Houses of Parliament, and the Bill lapsed. The central government has now asked the states to bring about their own amended land acquisition laws. As was discussed in the session 'communal land rights and collective action', land

titling might offer some sense of security, but it can also lead to insecurity when poor people are tempted to sell their rights. The risk of land titling is that conflicts are moved to another level.

In the session 'Land administration and smart solutions' Kees de Zeeuw, director of Kadaster International (http://www.kadaster.nl/web/english/International-consultancy/Fit-for-purpose.htm) mentioned, 'good enough' land registration or 'fit for purpose land administration' is probably more helpful in improving security of tenure compared to costly and time consuming traditional forms of registration. Good geospatial information management and sound land administration are important prerequisites for introducing these rights. De Zeeuw put forward the need for more developed technological tools, in order to make land registration and administration measurable. He mentioned mobile phones that can be used to map out plots. This is less costly compared to traditional technologies and will, in most cases, 'do the job'. A project of VNG International in Benin – which was presented in another session – showed, consultations with citizens to map out plots can also work well. Citizens were generally well aware of boundaries and meetings where ownership of plots was discussed among various stakeholders, including local government officials, worked out surprisingly harmoniously.

Existing guidelines
Jean du Plessis, coordinator of GLTN research and capacity development, UN-Habitat, Nairobi, Kenya, reflected on the application of the Voluntary Guidelines in urban & peri-urban settings. This implies an extension of the essentially rural focus of the voluntary guidelines on the Responsible Governance of Tenure of Land, Fisheries and Forests in the Context of

National Food Security [VGGT] (http://www.fao.org/nr/tenure/voluntary-guidelines/en/). The guidelines aim at securing tenure rights and equitable access to land, fisheries and forests as a means of eradicating hunger and poverty, supporting sustainable development and enhancing the environment. They were officially endorsed by the Committee on World Food Security on the 11th of May 2012. Since then, implementation has been encouraged by G20, Rio+ 20, United Nations General Assembly and Francophone Assembly of Parliamentarians, as well as many others, including the FAO, World Bank, national governments. Although the focus of the guidelines is on rural areas, there is no reason that the guidelines cannot be applied in urban contexts. As their scope is broad, they do not enter into the specifics of urban and peri-urban tenure. Du Plessis emphasized that the Voluntary Guidelines constitute a unique international soft-law instrument in the area of tenure and that they provide both general principles as well as principles of implementation. He showed key documents that were agreed upon in various international conferences, emphasising that we have been aware of land tenure challenges and that we do have a mandate to act. Key international conferences that highlighted the importance of land tenure include; HABITAT I in 1976, UNCESCR in 1991, HABITAT II in 1996, UN Commission on human rights in in 2004, the UN-HABITAT Governing Council in 2011 and the UN Sustainable Development Goals in 2015. Based on these guidelines and key documents lessons can be extracted what has worked in practice, what has not worked and what are the underlying reasons for successes and challenges.

Participants of the conference acknowledged the importance of the voluntary guidelines, but said they were not sufficient as more tools are needed before they can be put in practice. Also they agreed the voluntary guidelines on eviction are not often used. If there is potential of eviction, the do-no-harm principles generally lead to a behaviour of avoidance rather than facing the confrontation. Another concern was that the urban interests might be more dominant and prevail in those cases where rural and urban areas meet. In addition to existing guidelines, the land matrix data base was mentioned which provides an overview of land deals observed.

Participants of the expert Round table 'On the road to Habitat III – The New Urban Agenda' concluded that housing and urban planning are back on the agenda. Representatives of this session included the Office for Europe and European Institutions UN-Habitat, the Institute for Housing and Urban Development Studies (IHS), European Urban Knowledge Network (EUKN), the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and UrbAct. The comprehensive coverage of Habitat III was seen as an important improvement over the post Istanbul Habitat Agenda. Participants furthermore mentioned the link and consistency with the EU urban agenda adopted at the Amsterdam EU Summit. Moreover, capacity building and urban finance were seen as important implementation mechanisms. Lastly the implementation of monitoring was acknowledged as crucial.

Land pooling
Malovika Pawar (Indian Administrative Service and Utrecht University) discussed land pooling practices in India as an alternative to land acquisition. Land acquisition brought many changes for land use in peri-urban areas in India. These changes include occupational changes for citizens, like a shift from commercial cultivation to subsistence farming, as well as a move to new activities such as brickmaking, setting up shops and taxi services. These shifts also have consequences for natural resources and equity. For instance, areas which used to be grazing land, water channels and wells are usually just built over, while women find themselves walking longer distances for fetching firewood. On the positive side, access to services such as health, education and transport generally improve.

Land pooling is seen as an alternative to land acquisition. In the case of land pooling, landowners voluntarily surrender their land to an agency or government body which develops the land by building roads and laying sewage lines and electricity connections. Subsequently, the agency or government body returns a smaller portion of the land to the original owners, since the plot now has more amenities and its price has increased. Land pooling differs from conventional land acquisition in the sense that land, not money, is the primary medium of exchange.

From the state's perspective, land pooling is often beneficial because it is voluntary, and less expensive as there are no large outflows of cash compensation needed. However, challenges and problems pertaining to land pooling remain. According to Pawar, these include:
- For the farmers, problems include delays in returning developed land, while it is not clear what they will do in the meantime.
- The location of land returned can be a problem, for instance when remote land of lesser value is returned.
- Land pooling cannot be used for linear projects such as railway lines.
- Issues of landless labourers and contract farmers are not addressed.
- There is still uncertainty about the legal redressal.

Box 4. Key differences between regions and countries

The majority of conference papers focused on Africa. Countries included: Mozambique Tanzania, Sudan, South Sudan, South Africa, Kenya, Malawi, DR Congo, Rwanda, Zimbabwe, Ethiopia, Senegal and Benin. Contributions focusing on Asian countries included Indonesia, India and Vietnam. There were a few papers focusing on Latin America: Brazil, Peru, Cuba and the Amazon, while Eastern European case studies included Romania, and the Kyrgyz Republic.

It goes without saying that there are many differences between these countries in terms of planning and land administration. Generally it was stated that in the application of guidelines on land governance, like the voluntary guidelines, the local context always needs to be considered. Furthermore, it is important to take into account that what is understood by specific terminologies might differ per country. For instance, there is no clear definition of property rights. As Ken Rayner, Director of Advanced Valuations and affiliated to the University of Technology, Sydney, Australia, argued in one of the parallel sessions, property rights definitions are highly western oriented and mainly based on economic values, while social values can be embedded in these economic values. In some other sessions it was discussed that some rules and regulations still have clear colonial roots.

Some other key differences between countries which were discussed:

Planning processes
In the session 'emerging cities and rural urbanisation', the differences between planning practices in Africa and Latin-America were addressed. In most Latin American countries, the regional territorial approach, which can include both rural and urban territories, has a long history and is mature. In most sub-Saharan African countries it is virtually absent. It was argued this is likely to be related to decentralization processes of the 1980s and 1990s in Latin America, whereby the mandate of local governments increased considerably.

Compensation for land acquisition
Compensation occurs in various countries and has slightly different characteristics in different contexts. João Carrilho mentions that in Mozambique there is officially no market of land: 'we say you cannot sell land, but you can buy it'. Carrilho mentioned that you have to compensate people and give equivalent land elsewhere. However, compensation plots are usually situated at large distance from urban centres. Moreover, you can never provide compensation for issues like social relations. In Brazil, the situation with regard to compensation practices is complex; people in favelas are sometimes quite brutally moved away from their land. According to Rocco, the law that protects property 'speaks higher' than the one protecting people. Landowners are usually giving certificates as compensation and they can redeem these certificates. This results in dual realities; those that can deal with sophisticated processes and those people not capable of doing so.

Roles of states
As was discussed in the session focusing on infrastructure development, the influence of donors in infrastructure development is related to the strength of states. In stronger states, it was usually found that the state should control infrastructure processes and donors and investors from outside might have negative impacts as they do not always take the local context into account. In the context of weak states, particularly states that have a poor legal framework, donors can also safeguard specific values like sustainability. Also, the legitimacy of states was discussed in various contexts. In many areas in South Sudan, there has been an increase in the authority of chiefs, and a decrease in the authority of other customary institutions. In general, there is a strong idea among citizens that the state is not so much there to protect them, but rather to grab their land.

Key concerns that arise from these challenges and problems include whether or not these urban development strategies will lead to a process of "accumulation by dispossession" and what public purpose justifies a democratic government forcibly taking land from farmers. Pawar mentioned that the fundamental question is: what is the meaning of development? Who gets the benefit and who pays the cost?" (Michael Levien, scholar of India's land acquisition processes.)

Land and conflict
In her opening speech, Marjan Oudeman mentioned that conflict over land can have the worst consequences. She referred to the murder of environmental activist Berta Cáceres in March 2016. Cáceres had protested against a hydroelectric dam project in Honduras. The link between land and conflict was also reflected in the contributing papers to the conference; two of the sessions focused on conflict and violence. The session on 'Violent urbanisation' discussed the concept of claim making as the process through which actors seek to establish control over land. Claim making is often related to insecurity and violence. Examples include military that occupied land in Colombia and Uganda. It was discussed that new claims meet with a lot of resistance. Processes of in- and exclusion not only occur at higher scale

Keynote Geoffrey Payne, Housing and Urban Development Consultant, Geoffrey Payne & Associates, UK (www.gpa.org.uk)

Payne has 36 years of experience in the field of Housing and Urban Development and discussed land governance in urban and peri-urban areas in the context of the limitations of market capitalism. The sub-prime crisis and global recession of 2008 and Brexit have exposed the limitations of market capitalism. Payne argued that over-ambitious and unrealistic planning standards impose major barriers to the development of urban centres. In many countries, standard plot sizes are relatively large, making them beyond reach for most citizens to become legal residents.

At the same time, research on housing and planning standards in several countries concluded that there is no direct correlation between such standards and the level of economic development of a country.

Payne showed an image of a man in the United Kingdom standing outside his 1.5 metre wide house in London which was on sale for £125,000 (fig 1). He used this example in a presentation for Ugandan government officials, who insisted that plot sizes of 150 m^2 were needed, even though this would make it impossible for a large proportion of Kampala's population, many of whom lived on plots of about 60m2, ever to become legal residents.

The smallest house in Britain, at less that 1.5 metres wide.

A bargain at UK£125,000 (US$190,000)!

http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/narrowest-house-britain-goes-market-4289194

Figure 1
The smallest house for sale (Geoffrey Payne)

Payne also addressed public-private partnerships in land for development. These were, once considered an 'opportunity for corruption of public officials', but nowadays they have gradually gaining credence. According to Payne, the penetration of market forces into the land sector has weakened the ability of the public sector to be an equal player in such partnerships. This even applies in countries with established institutional resources, such as the UK, where developers use their influence and resources to their advantage.

Neoliberalism has resulted in land and property becoming key factors in increasing inequality. Research funded by the Department for International Development (DFID) of the United Kingdom has demonstrated that countries that place too high a premium on property ownership distort attitudes away from notions of personal security towards land and housing as an investment. Especially for the young, the poor and the elderly, ownership can be a burden rather than a benefit, so governments need to promote a range of tenure options to meet diverse needs, he argued. Governments can play an important role. Payne argued: "Put simply, the challenge is to make markets work for society, not the other way around. Fortunately, land and housing markets are an excellent means for achieving this. Although governments cannot force investors where to put their money, they do exert considerable influence over the way markets operate generally, both through direct public investment in infrastructure and also by the planning and land administration processes that provide security for investors."

Governments need to develop a strong understanding of market behaviour so that they are well placed to get the best deal from individually unique developments.

"So far, many governments are so desperate to attract inward investment (FDI) that they roll over in front of multinational corporations and allow them to reap benefits (e.g. tax concessions, free land) that are denied to local businesses.", Payne argued.

He mentioned several socially acceptable and administratively practical examples of good land and housing market management. These include land value capture (or sharing), land pooling/readjustment, transfer development rights (TDR), Requests for Proposals (RFPs), various public-private partnerships, land sharing, in-situ settlement upgrading and participatory budgeting. Similarly, there are many alternatives to property ownership, including cooperatives, joint ownership, equity sharing, and innovative 'intermediate' forms of tenure such as Brazil's zones of social interest. Payne argued that the political, administrative and commercial elites are not willing to change if they are benefiting sufficiently from the status quo. As Geoffrey Payne puts it: 'Given the rich menu of options, the inevitable question arises of why they have not been widely adopted and applied?' Payne argued that the political, administrative and commercial elites are not willing to change when they benefit from the status quo.

A precondition for progress is to assert the right of the poor to the city and access to land in locations where they can benefit as much as they contribute collectively. This can be promoted by:
- Reviewing institutional, regulatory and other constraints to increasing the supply of urban land, services and credit in line with existing and projected levels of need;
- Building on existing supply options and forms of land tenure and property rights which enjoy social legitimacy,

or introducing others based on international experience to create a diverse range of supply options reflecting evolving patterns of demand;
- Formulating and enforcing equitable tax and other revenue generating measures (e.g., capturing part of the increased values generated by granting planning permission) to finance such increased supply
- Devolving powers and resources to local levels
- Creating a sense of civic responsibility in which all sectors, public, private and civil society groups develop a shared vision and strategy;
- Regularising and upgrading existing slums and informal settlements where possible, but not necessarily with full property titles
- Concentrating resources on those elements, such as the planning of public transportation, utility networks and facilities, which communities cannot resolve by themselves

- Assessing the impact of subsidies on the intended beneficiaries and the land market to ensure the subsidies are achieving their intentions and modify if necessary
- Taxing land for its approved use, whether developed or not
- Improving public access to information land and housing markets and land administration to improve urban governance
- Accepting the principle of incremental development as practiced by the poor and
- Providing the professional capability and administrative continuity at senior levels to ensure that policies are implemented.

See also the blog of Geoffrey Payne for the Landportal (https://landportal.info/blog-post/2016/07/five-major-challenges-land-management-our-changing-world)

levels or between civil society actors and the state, but also within families. The erosion and reshuffling of institutions and governance practices (governance gaps) is also important to take into account in claim making processes, Gemma van der Haar of Wageningen University stated. The session 'Rural and urban land conflicts in Africa' addressed papers focusing on sustainable cities in mining context in West Africa, land concessions and land grabbing in Mozambique and urbanising rural areas through large-scale farms in Tanzania.

4. Sustainable urbanisation

In his introduction, Robert Rocco, assistant professor at the section of spatial planning and strategy of the Faculty of Architecture of the Delft University of Technology, addressed urban space and mobility. He stated that 'the American dream' of owning a nice house with a garden in a quiet suburb with a private car is completely unsustainable. "Houses needs to be furnished, infrastructure needs to be built to connect the suburbs, and cars need to be bought." He shows several examples of 'crazy' suburban planning in Las Vegas

Figure 2 *Favela in Brazil, photographer Roberto Rocco*

and the Netherlands and Chinese ghost cities where large apartment blocks are build and developers are waiting for people to move in. He also referred to the Spanish 2008 "Real Estate Bubble" resulting in "The Cities That Never Were" and the United States Subprime Mortgage Crisis leading to "House of Cards" as examples of unsustainable planning. Rocco argued that we need to contest the paradigm of unstainable economic growth. Sustainable urbanisation is key to successful development, and there is a real 'planning urgency' in Latin American cities. Some key questions which he addressed included how to:
- bridge the social-spatial divide that characterises the capitalist city?
- integrate millions (billions?) of new city dwellers while respecting citizens 'right to the city'?
- harmonise urgent environmental issues (climate change) with social needs?
- preserve the social function of property in face of savage unregulated real estate market?
- harmonise housing, liveability and sustainability in explosively growing cities in weak governance environments?
- improve the quality of city management and promote good and fair governance?
- promote fair access, use, regulation, and taxation of urban land?

5. Infrastructure development

Infrastructure development was discussed in three sessions in which 11 papers were presented, varying from urban development and climate change adaptation in Mozambique, to large scale infrastructure development in South-Sudan and megaprojects of Industrial state in Jakarta, Indonesia. The sessions showed the many differences between regions and countries. For instance, communities are usually organized

in different ways which may affect their participation in development processes. There were also some important shared experiences. First of all, the role of donor investments came out as an important issue. External partners are often not really aware of the context in a specific country and can therefore negatively impact development processes. However, sometimes donors can also safeguard specific issues, particularly in the context of weak states, like Sudan. These states often have a poor legal framework, which does not address issues like sustainability. In cases where states are stronger and there is a legal framework, it was argued that generally, governments can best take the lead. Secondly, it appeared that still a lot is unknown. Large infrastructural projects are easily said to have an important economic impact and to generate employment. However, there is still limited knowledge on how the precise economic impact at the planning stage of projects can be predicted. This is even more valid for the social impacts, which are often neglected. Thirdly, studies focusing on Africa showed the impact of the historical and colonial system. A lot of the expertise on infrastructure development still has its origin in the European context.

6. Food security

In the session on food security, Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) was discussed in several papers. In Ethiopia for instance, FDI has both positive and negative consequences. It led to employment opportunities and development of local businesses, but also to land loss, displacement, disruption of livelihoods and a lack of access to resources. As a consequence, many smallholders have lost access to their land, livestock and income. One of the key questions raised in the session was whether growing export crops can help beat famine. In Kenya, the government aims to enlarge the flow of FDI with agriculture as a key target. Obstacles to doing so are related to corruption, insecurity and terrorism. Two studies on Vietnam showed compensation schemes and
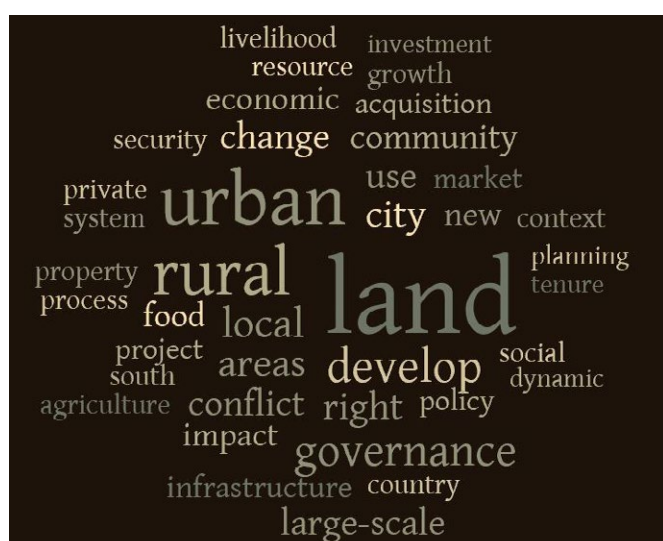

Figure 3 *Word cloud of the 90+ abstracts of this conference (Source: presentation João Carrilho)*

resettlement programs that have had negative effects on food security. In most cases, compensation was not fair. And although informed consent procedures were followed, the people involved did not fully understand the implications of the compensation in terms of money, land or the acquisition of a resettlement house.

7. Inequality

João Carrilho executed a short word cloud analysis based on all of the abstracts of papers submitted to the conference. The words that stood out in the word cloud, were – not so surprisingly – 'urban', 'rural', 'land' and 'governance'. Carrilho pointed out that it is striking that 'inclusiveness' as well as 'sustainability' did not come up as important words, while these aspects are key for land governance processes.

However, in the various work group sessions inequality was certainly addressed, like in the session on 'climate change and property rights'. A study focusing on community-based governance of land security in climate-induced relocation in the Pacific region, clearly showed that in case of disasters caused by climate change, only a limited number of people migrated. However, the most vulnerable people without any resources do not have many options to move elsewhere. Moreover, the poorest and most vulnerable people do not possess land and they live in the most vulnerable places, like lower areas prone to flooding. Because of climate change, flooding also occurs more frequently. At a more general level, it was argued that we know that a lot of people will be relocated in the future, due to sea level rise caused by climate change. It is obvious that these people will need land to live on as well. The question was raised how tenure rights policies should take the future climate refugees into account.

In the session 'Violent urbanisation', inequality was also discussed as a central topic. It was argued that there is a 'deficit of rights' as there is no equal position among people in claiming parts of the city, which is particularly the case for new-comers. At the same time, in a country like Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), the elite have a certain impunity. Patterns of exclusions are both old and new, it was stated.

Box 5. Special event: The role of the private sector

The role of the private sector was mainly discussed in terms of their large impact in public-private partnerships, often in relation to weak governance bodies. Increasingly, the private sector itself is taking the initiative to prevent unsustainable and unjust land practices through the implementation of responsible business principles. The financial sector plays a key role in this. The Dutch ABN Amro bank and NGO Solidaridad have jointly produced a White Paper on Due Diligence, aiming to translate the VGGT (FAO Voluntary Guidelines) into the operations of ABN Amro, as well as other banks. In a special session, they presented the outline and main points of the White Paper, which is designed to enhance due diligence with respect to land rights in the operations of financial institutions. They introduced a number of discussion points to solicit reactions from the audience. The ensuing discussion covered a wide range of subjects, including the extent to which private investors can be considered responsible for land governance issues, public-private sector coordination, and suggestions on similar initiatives elsewhere. Copies of the White Paper are available through the LANDac secretariat.

As was discussed in the session 'Scaling urban land governance: from global to local', in Ghana mainly the poor and the women are not involved in consultation processes, and they are generally also not compensated when their land is taken away. The focus on the poor and most vulnerable should therefore always be part of research and policy making, according to the experts involved in the conference. Key note speaker Roberto Rocco said that urban exclusion is not (only) the result of poverty. It is the result of complex ecosystems of world production in which some countries or regions have a subordinate role, with some groups of people taking the blunt of the prevailing unequal distributions of gains.

Thinking beyond stereotypes

Although inequality is a key issue in land governance, we should also have an open mind towards analysing processes of in- and exclusion, as was discussed in the panel session 'Food security'. Researchers are often still thinking in stereotypes. For instance, we often presume that farmers want to remain farmers, while there are many people, especially young people, who no longer want to be famers and are open to other opportunities, rather than sticking to their land. Also findings of a study in Vietnam showed that many people did not perceive it a problem to be engaged in activities other than those which they were used to, unless these changes were enforced on them or they were not adequately compensated.

Box 6. Media exhibits

Future cities
At the conference 'Future Cities' was presented: a transmedia project about five emerging urban areas: Kinshasa, Lima, Yangon, Medellin and Addis Ababa. The mission of Future cities is to transmit ideas and knowledge from emerging countries to Europe and the USA. In each city a different theme is selected, for instance, Kinshasa is a fashion hub, also referred to as 'the Paris of Africa', in Lima global gastronomy is a focus and in Yangon artistic revival is highlighted.

Women's Land Rights in the picture
The conference also hosted a photo exhibition on women's land rights by Kadir von Lohuizen/NOOR for ActionAid. Photographer Kadir von Lohuizen portrayed the challenges that land grabs pose to communities in Mozambique. At the same time he captured the strength of the people standing up for their rights. During his stay, Kadir met with women smallholders in Manhiça, a rural area not far from the capital Maputo. ActionAid and partner NADEC have been working with these women for years to strengthen their position. Awareness raising, organizing into cooperatives and advocating for their land rights as part of the Women's Land Rights Programme (funded by the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs) proved to be crucial in securing their land tenure and preventing land grabs, as well as to improve food security and income.
See also www.noorimages.com and www.actionaid.org/land-for

Documentary screening: Eviction
The documentary 'Eviction' focuses on Cambodia, where government officials sell off residential property to corporations, eliminating impoverished neighbourhoods through violent forced evictions. Men take up bricks and bottles to defend their houses, but the violence only escalates. Then 'Mommy', an elderly grandmother determined to provide a future for her granddaughter, rallies other women in her community to create a uniquely female protest movement exposing the moral bankruptcy of the government, which proves more challenging to the powers involved than any violent confrontation.

8. Concluding remarks

At the start of the LANDac conference, the chair of LANDac, Annelies Zoomers emphasised the aim to bridge the urban and rural divide and explore linkages between the two. Land grabbing has mainly been considered a rural issue, but this perception has shifted gradually. As urban spaces spread out, rural spaces are becoming urban. Movements of people and goods also demonstrate all kind of linkages between rural and urban areas. It is crucial to take into account that urbanization

will always go hand in hand with land transformation in rural as well as urban areas, Zoomers said. The conference covered many cases in which these interconnections were discussed; ranging from infrastructure projects to rural and urban land conflicts. There was a strong focus on the peri-urban areas; the fringes around the cities that are particularly dynamic spaces and where changes occur rapidly.

At the end of the conference Zoomers concluded the conference was successful in bridging the gap between 'the urban' and 'the rural' and promised LANDac will continue trying to break down the wall between the two. She reflected on the implication of all the developments for the people living in areas of transformation. It is interesting that in the urban debate, the inevitability of urbanization is the dominant discourse; like it will happen anyway and we can't change this. She added we need more concrete ideas and challenged participants of LANDac to both reflect on the conference and come up with concrete contributions.

Frits van der Wal, Senior Policy Advisor and focal point for land governance at the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs stressed that despite the many challenges, the conference also highlighted many positive and inspiring stories.

As was discussed in various contributions, more fundamental changes of systems are required in order to address the many challenges related to land governance. At the same time, developments occur quickly and we are living in a 'compressed space- time frame', as Carrilho put it. Influencing systems with the objective to change them are usually slow processes. Payne used the comparison of a super tanker. Some people take a seat at the bridge of the super tanker and might only shift it one or two degrees. However, when we know exactly what to do beforehand and 'a window of opportunity' – like a good politician being elected – emerges, we might be able to shift the super tanker ten degrees. Payne felt especially the mandate of mayors can be interesting as the role of governments should be to offer a wide range of options.

Roles for LANDac
As rapid changes in the landscape are happening, João Carrilho suggested the LANDac network to remain relevant by

continuing, after the conference, to: "observe, study, dare to explore new realistic approaches and theories and then, 'share, predict and guide'. Otherwise we will be like economists who know how to explain, but who don't know how to predict. I don't want to be like that", he concluded.

LANDac is a platform where academia, practitioners, policy makers and other actors are coming together and exchange knowledge. At the LANDac conference, all these groups were also represented and 'policy and practice' sessions were organised. Practitioners and policy makers from all over the world participated in sessions which mainly focused on academic papers. Bridging the different worlds was sometimes challenging, for instance when policy makers asked what research findings would imply in practice. However, important exchanges of ideas also occurred outside programme sessions, showing the LANDac network is bringing together different kind of actors working on land governance.

As changes occur rapidly, there is a risk that researchers are constantly late in taking up issues happening at grass root level, as was discussed at the concluding session. It was also discussed that different research communities or disciplines are still operating in isolation or fragmented while the challenges require interdisciplinary approaches. Robert Rocco, said he was ashamed to say that in world of spatial planning, people are not very aware of the urban-rural linkages. 'I think that is a problem', he added. As competition for land has intensified, it has risen up the ladder of political attention in countries and it now even dominates public discourses and receives a lot of media attention, Payne argued. He added that given the many challenges, all professionals present at the conference have a huge responsibility to society to address issues and to help in solving them. As the contributions at the conference showed, professionals can also be part of the problem with all their ideas, policies and legislation aiming at solving issues. These frameworks can also work out counterproductive. As Marjan Oudeman stated at the start of the conference, the key challenge for LANDac is to provide leadership as land issues are so prominent on the agenda.

Geoffrey Payne

Housing & Urban Development Consultant, Geoffrey Payne & Associates, UK

Geoffrey Payne has more than 40 years of experience in urban development, housing policy, land management, land tenure/property rights and project design issues in rapidly urbanising developing countries. His organisation, GPA, is a consultancy specialising in activities which improve options for the urban poor in developing countries to obtain access to land, housing, services and credit, whilst addressing climate change and the energy crisis; GPA's clients include national governments, NGOs, and bilateral and international aid agencies and the company has previously contributed to many international conferences, including those held by the World Bank. Geoffrey's international experience is vast and includes India, China, South Africa, Tanzania, Turkey, Lesotho, Rwanda and Vanuatu, among others.

João Carrilho

Former Vice-Minister of Agriculture and consultant on land, Mozambique

João Carrilho is the former Vice Minister for Agriculture and Rural Development in Mozambique and an expert on land issues. From 2005 to 2007, he managed Mozambique's Economic Recovery Support Fund, a multi-million dollar loan to the Government of Mozambique from IFAD and the African Development Fund to strengthen rural banking and microfinance. Today, João works as a consultant on issues of land, rural development and food and nutrition security, collaborating with NGOs, national governments and international agencies such as the FAO and ILO.

Theo de Jager

President of the Pan-African Farmers' Organisation (PAFO), South Africa

Dr Theo de Jager has been deeply involved with his country's ongoing land reform and has much specialist knowledge on agricultural transformation both in South Africa and in the rest of the continent. Currently the President of the Pan-African Farmers' Organisation, he has previously served in several of South Africa's largest and most influential farmers' unions, helping farmers make their voices heard in the face of globalisation by engaging in national and international dialogues. Theo has farmed in the Tzaneen District of South Africa since 1997.

Malovika Pawar

Indian Administrative Service and Utrecht University

Malovika Pawar was a member of the Indian Administrative Service (the higher Civil Service of India) for about 31 years, working in the field in the state of Rajasthan, and at policy-making levels at the state and national level. At the national level she worked as Director in the Prime Minister's Office, assisting the PM in the areas of rural development, water resources, and agriculture and food policy. During her career in government, she worked mainly in various developmental sectors such as rural development, creation of livelihoods in rural areas, affirmative action programmes for disadvantaged groups, social justice, and women's development. She has also worked as Principal Secretary in the Land Governance Department in Rajasthan, focussing on issues of land tenure, protection of land rights, and allotment of land for public purposes, and land acquisition for projects. For the past three years, she has been associated with the IDS teaching programme at Utrecht University, covering topics such as food security, land acquisition, and protection of the commons.

Jean du Plessis

GLTN, UN-Habitat, Nairobi, Kenya

Jean du Plessis works in the Land and GLTN Unit at UN-Habitat, based in Nairobi, Kenya. He is the coordinator of GLTN research and capacity development and leads its work on the continuum of land rights, land readjustment, land-based financing and Namibia. Jean has an academic background in Political Philosophy and more than 25 years' experience in the land, housing and development sectors. Up to 1994 he worked closely with South African communities resisting forced removal under apartheid. From 1996 to 2000 he was policy director and then chief director of the South African government's land restitution programme. He has also worked with non-governmental organisations, bilateral institutions, universities and other UN agencies. Jean has country experience in South Africa, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Rwanda, Ghana, Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania, Timor-Leste, Cambodia, Thailand, Indonesia and Nepal.

Roberto Rocco

Senior Assistant Professor, Delft University of Technology, the Netherlands

Roberto Rocco is an Assistant Professor in the Section of Spatial Planning and Strategy of the Faculty of Architecture at TU Delft. He specialises in regional and strategic planning and in tools for urban governance. In particular his research is focussed on understanding and achieving spatial justice – the promotion of access to public goods, basic services, culture, economic opportunity and healthy environments – through fair and inclusive urban planning and management. Born in Sao Paulo, Brazil, Roberto studied both in Canada and in his home country before pursuing his doctoral degree in Delft, where he has been Assistant Professor since 2007.

Parallel sessions

Megacities,
Chair: Ore Fika, Institute for Housing and Urban Development Studies (IHS) Rotterdam

Emerging cities & rural urbanisation
Chair: Griet Steel, Utrecht University

Infrastructure development (triple session)
Chairs: Kei Otsuki, Murtah Read & Patrick Witte, Utrecht University

Peri-urban dynamics
Chair: Griet Steel, Utrecht University

Rural and urban land conflicts in Africa
Chair: Mayke Kaag, African Studies Centre Leiden

Violent urbanisation
Chair: Karen Buscher, University of Ghent & Gemma van der Haar, Wageningen University

Urban elites and property relations
Chair: Gillian Mathys & Mathijs van Leeuwen, Radboud University Nijmegen

Changing landscapes and livelihoods
Chair: Mirjam Ros-Tonen, University of Amsterdam

Food security
Chair: Guus van Westen and Bram van Helvoirt, Utrecht University

Climate change and property rights
Chair: Fennie van Straalen, Thomaas Hartmann and Michelle Nuijen, Utrecht University

Land administration and smart solutions, two sessions
Chair: Christelle van der Berg, Kadaster International & Dimo Todorovski, ITC University of Twente

Land governance: The case of Indonesia
Chair: Laurens Bakker, University of Amsterdam

Policy and practice sessions

Expert Round Table: On the road to Habitat III – the New Urban Agenda
Chair: Dr. Emiel Wegelin, UrbAct/IDS Utrecht University

The Human Cities Coalition: Forming coalitions of the willing – the potential applicability of the HCC approach
Chair: Marius Stehouwer, Human Cities Coalition/LIFT Cities

Scaling urban land governance: from global to local
Chairs: Femke van Noorloos and Annelies Zoomers, Utrecht University

Communal land rights and collective action
Chair: Jur Schuurman, Utrecht University (with contribution from Oxfam Novib)

Special events

The Garuda Project, Indonesia
Chairs: Fennie van Straalen and Murtah Read, Utrecht University

The role of the private sector
Chair: Guus van Westen, Utrecht University

Documentary screening: Eviction
Chair: Michelle Nuijen, Utrecht University and Mathijs van Leeuwen, Radboud University Nijmegen

Future Cities
Transmedia project – Yvonne Brandwijk and Stephanie Bakker

Women's Land Rights in the picture
Photo exhibition - Kadir van Lohuizen/ NOOR for ActionAid

More information about LANDac and our activities is available on our website: www.landgovernance.org.

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